

Joe Klein:  
Finally, the  
Real Hillary

The Clintons:  
How Winning  
Trumps All



Why Obama  
Is Tougher  
Than He Looks

Interviews:  
Hillary and  
Barack Trade Jabs

# TIME

## The Fighter

How she came back—  
and why it could  
be too late



Hillary Clinton  
in Beaumont, Texas,  
on March 3

HE UNITED  
THE STATES OF AMERICA.

PAUL GIAMATTI  
LAURA LINNEY

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MARCH 16 AT 8PM

PART PREMIERE  
PART 2: "INDEPENDENCE"  
SUNDAYS AT 9PM

HBO

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**SYMBICORT**

# **Profiles in Asthma Control**

---

## **Corporate Climber**

### **Noticing a Difference**

"I couldn't climb the stairs without getting winded. Now I know SYMBICORT is working to help control my asthma. So I feel like, hey, I can do this."

—Francine





### Back in your doctor's office again?

If your asthma symptoms keep coming back, you should know what Francine knows. Asthma doesn't go away. You still have inflammation in your airways, making them more sensitive and likely to constrict. So even when you're symptom free, you're not asthma free.\*

### Francine has noticed a difference in her breathing with SYMBICORT.

SYMBICORT is for people like Francine who are 12 years and older, whose doctor has decided are not well controlled on another asthma-controller medicine, or who need two asthma-controller medicines.



Inflammation is always in your airways, even if you can't feel it.



SYMBICORT reduces inflammation and works all day and night.

### Francine takes SYMBICORT twice every day.

SYMBICORT combines two medicines in one product to help control both inflammation and constriction all day and night. And it starts to open her airways within 15 minutes.\* She knows that SYMBICORT is not a rescue inhaler and does not replace one for sudden symptoms.

Now SYMBICORT is helping Francine control her asthma symptoms.

No problem is going to keep her from making it to the top.

### Ask your doctor if SYMBICORT is right for you.

If you cannot afford your prescription medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help.

\*Individual results may vary.

## IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

### What is SYMBICORT?

Prescription SYMBICORT is a controller medicine for the long-term maintenance treatment of asthma. SYMBICORT is for people 12 years and older whose doctor has decided are not well controlled on another asthma-controller medicine or who need two asthma-controller medicines. SYMBICORT is not for the treatment of sudden asthma symptoms.

### What is the most important safety information I should know about SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT contains formoterol, a long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist (LABA). Medicines containing LABAs may increase the chance of asthma-related death.

So, SYMBICORT should be used only if your health care professional decides another asthma-controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or you need two controller medicines.

While taking SYMBICORT, never use another medicine containing a LABA.

### What other important safety information should I know about SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT won't replace rescue inhalers for sudden symptoms. Do not use SYMBICORT more than twice a day.

If you are taking SYMBICORT, see your health care professional if your asthma does not improve or gets worse.

Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or change in heart rhythm. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure.

If you are switching to SYMBICORT from an oral corticosteroid, follow your doctor's instructions to avoid health risks when you stop using oral corticosteroids.

Avoid exposure to infections such as chicken pox or measles. Tell your health care professional immediately if you are exposed.

In clinical studies, common side effects included nose and throat irritation, headache, upper respiratory tract infection, sore throat, sinusitis, and stomach discomfort.

Please see Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

SYMBICORT is a registered trademark and even when you're symptom free, you're not asthma free is a trademark of the AstraZeneca group of companies.

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258796 2/08

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**Symbicort®**  
(budesonide/formoterol fumarate dihydrate)  
Inhalation Aerosol

# IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT SYMBICORT

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your doctor about SYMBICORT.

No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you or take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional. Only your health care professional has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

## WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT SYMBICORT?

- In patients with asthma, long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist (LABA) medicines, such as formoterol (one of the medicines in SYMBICORT), may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used another LABA medicine died from asthma problems, compared with patients who did not use that LABA medicine. Talk with your health care professional about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with SYMBICORT.
- SYMBICORT does not relieve sudden symptoms, so you should always have a fast-acting inhaler (short-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist medicine) with you. If you do not have this type of inhaler, talk with your health care professional to have one prescribed for you.
- Get emergency medical care if your breathing problems worsen quickly and your fast-acting inhaler does not relieve them.
- Do not stop using SYMBICORT unless your health care professional tells you to stop because your symptoms might get worse.

## WHAT IS SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT is an inhaled prescription medicine for long-term maintenance treatment, taken twice a day, every day, to control asthma in patients 12 years and older. It will not replace your fast-acting inhaler for relief of sudden asthma symptoms.

SYMBICORT contains two medicines:

- Budesonide (the same medicine found in PULMICORT TURBUHALER® [budesonide inhalation powder], PULMICORT FLEXHALER® [budesonide inhalation powder], an inhaled corticosteroid medicine, or ICS. ICS medicines help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.
- Formoterol (the same medicine found in Foradil® or Aerolizer®) is a long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist medicine, or LABA. LABA medicines help the muscles in the airways of the lungs stay relaxed to prevent asthma symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles in the airways tighten, which, in severe cases, can cause breathing to stop completely if not treated right away.

## WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE SYMBICORT?

You should NOT take SYMBICORT if your health care professional:

- decides that your asthma is well controlled using another asthma-controller medicine
- you only use a fast-acting inhaler less than twice a week

## WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE USING SYMBICORT?

Tell your health care professional about all of your health conditions, including if you

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem or have been exposed to chicken pox or measles
- have tuberculosis or other infections
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant because it is not known if SYMBICORT may harm your unborn baby
- are breast-feeding because it is not known if SYMBICORT passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby

Tell your health care professional about ALL the medicines you are taking, including all your prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

SYMBICORT and certain other medicines may interact with each other and can cause serious side effects. So be sure to keep track of ALL the medication you take. You might want to make a list and show it to your health care professional, including your pharmacist, each time you get any new medicine, just to ensure there are no potential drug interactions.

## HOW DO I USE SYMBICORT?

Do not use SYMBICORT unless your health care professional has carefully demonstrated how to do so. If you have any questions concerning the use of SYMBICORT, ask your health care professional.

SYMBICORT should be taken twice every day as prescribed by your health care professional.

SYMBICORT comes in two strengths. Your health care professional will prescribe the strength that is best for you.

## When you use SYMBICORT, make sure you

- use SYMBICORT exactly as prescribed
- take two puffs of SYMBICORT in the morning and two puffs in the evening every day. If you miss a dose of SYMBICORT, you should take your next dose at the same time you normally do
- do not take SYMBICORT more often or use more puffs than you have been prescribed
- rinse your mouth with water after each dose (two puffs) of SYMBICORT without swallowing
- do not change or stop any of the medicines you use to control or treat your breathing problems. Your health care professional will adjust your medicines as needed
- always have a fast-acting inhaler with you. Use it if you have breathing problems between doses of SYMBICORT

## Seek emergency medical care if

- your breathing problems worsen quickly and your fast-acting inhaler does not relieve your breathing problems
- you experience any symptoms of a serious allergic reaction to SYMBICORT, such as a rash; hives; swelling of the face, mouth, tongue; and breathing problems

## Contact your health care professional if

- you need to use your fast-acting inhaler more often than usual
- your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you all relieving symptoms
- you need to use four or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row
- you use up your entire fast-acting inhaler container within 8 weeks
- your peak-flow meter results decrease. Your health care professional will tell you the numbers that are right for you
- your asthma symptoms do not improve after using SYMBICORT regularly for 1 week

## WHAT MEDICATIONS SHOULD I NOT TAKE WHEN USING SYMBICORT?

While you are using SYMBICORT, do NOT use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist (LABA) for any reason, such as

- Serevent® Diskus® (salmeterol xinafoate inhalation powder)
- Advair Diskus® or Advair® HFA (fluticasone propionate and salmeterol)
- Foradil® Aerolizer® (formoterol fumarate inhalation powder)

## WHAT ARE OTHER IMPORTANT SAFETY CONSIDERATIONS WITH SYMBICORT?

- Cardiovascular and central nervous system effects of LABAs, such as chest pain, increased blood pressure, fast or irregular heartbeats, tremor, or nervousness
- Immune system effects and a higher chance for infections
- Osteoporosis. People at risk for increased bone loss may have a greater risk with SYMBICORT
- Slowed growth in children. As a result, growth should be carefully monitored
- Eye problems, such as glaucoma and cataracts. Regular eye exams should be considered while using SYMBICORT

## WHAT ARE OTHER POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS WITH SYMBICORT?

- Nose and throat irritation
- Headache
- Upper respiratory tract infection
- Sore throat
- Sinusitis
- Stomach discomfort
- Oral thrush

Tell your health care professional about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with SYMBICORT. Ask your health care professional for more information.

**NOTE:** This summary provides important information about SYMBICORT. For more information, please ask your doctor or health care professional about the full Prescribing Information and discuss it with him or her.

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AstraZeneca

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On the cover: Photograph for TIME by David Burnett—Contact, Background digitally altered. Inset: Fort Worth Star-Telegram—MCT/Landov

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# 10 Questions.

After vowing to never again write about Lestat, this best seller reveals she has one more vampire novel in her. Her newest religious book is *Christ the Lord: The Road to Cana*. **Anne Rice will now take your questions**

**Do you ever plan to write additional books for the *Vampire Chronicles* series?**

Kelly Meier, BELLE MEAD, N.J.

When I published my first book about the Lord, I said I would never write about those characters again. But I have one more book that I would like to write. It will concern the vampire Lestat, but it will be written in a redemption framework, where he is wrestling with the existence of God. I don't see it as a violation of my promise, because I won't be writing about vampires in the old way.

**How did you evolve from writing about vampires to writing about the life of Jesus?**

Tonya Solomon  
FLUSHING, MICH.

It was a personal conversion. After 38 years of being an atheist, faith came back to me. I had to stop writing about vampires, because they had been a metaphor for lost souls. Instead, I made up my mind to concentrate on Jesus Christ.

**What caused your conversion back to Christianity?**

Kyle Russell  
FAYETTEVILLE, ARK.

Americans like to believe we turn to religion because of an accident or the loss of a loved one, but in my case it was simply the culmination of searching. I wrestled with a lot of theological questions, and then one afternoon, I thought, I love you—I want to go back to you.

**What's your idea of the afterlife?**

Luan Mai, SANTA CLARA, CALIF.  
I don't think we can imagine



what it is like to be fully united with God in his kingdom, but we can have great expectation and hope. I don't think it is a little angel with a harp sitting on a cloud or the barren afterlife we see in so many films. I think it is a rich and wonderful place.

**Do you believe in vampires?**

Helena DiGonzaga, MIAMI  
Not at all. For me, supernatural characters were a way to talk about life and reality—

vampires are the perfect metaphor for the lost soul. I am always surprised when some very young reader writes to me and asks if they are real.

**You write a lot about homosexuality in your novels. Does it have to do with the fact that your son is very openly gay?**

Mimi Sofer, BEERSHEBA, ISRAEL  
I was writing about gay characters long before he was born. I don't know why I see the world that way, but it is

very much a point with me. I always perceived my characters as transcending gender. I idealize the person that can love men or women.

**How personally do you take the successes and failures of the adaptations of your novels?**

Cheryl Anderson  
SAN FRANCISCO

I was absolutely devastated by the failure of *Lestat* on Broadway. It was exquisitely painful for everyone involved. I wish the [producers] had given it more time to build. I would love it if the musical was revived in New Orleans someday.

**"Place" has always been a character in and of itself in your work. Has moving to Southern California from New Orleans affected your writing?**

S. Fitzgerald, PORTLAND, ORE.  
I lived in New Orleans for 15 years, and I loved it. But now is the time for me to be in a place of quiet to write and research. Not a monastic life—because I don't have the gift of being able to deny myself like that—but a life of peace. I live out here in retreat.

**Have we lost the romanticized New Orleans of the past?**

Erin Hall, NEW ORLEANS  
I don't think so. New Orleans has a way of triumphing, no matter what happens. There is an unstoppable spirit in the people there—they don't want to be in any other place on earth and will stay there no matter how bad things get.

**What made you endorse Hillary Clinton on YouTube?**

Katie Harris, SHEBOYGAN, WIS.  
I feel strongly about Hillary. I spoke out because I wanted to say something on her behalf. I think she is being treated very unfairly, perhaps inevitably because she is a woman. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Rice and to

subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)



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# Postcard: Greensburg.

A tiny Kansas town was obliterated by a tornado last spring. But its citizens are using the opportunity to turn their community green. **Building back from the rubble**

BY BRYAN WALSH

**T**HE TORNADO THAT HIT GREENSBURG on May 4 took its time, rolling up Main Street like it was on a Sunday stroll to church. Ron Shank, owner of the Kansas town's General Motors dealership, hid with his wife beneath a quilt in their basement, but they heard the storm rip their home from its foundations. Marvin George, a pastor at the Baptist church, took shelter in his closet. "We just knelt and prayed," he says. "I wasn't scared until the next morning, when I saw the carnage."

The tornado measured 5 on the Enhanced Fujita scale, the highest possible rating, and it left hardly a single wall standing. "Big strong men looked at what was left and were damn near in tears," remembers Lonnie McCollum, then the town's mayor. More than 1,000 people—at least two-thirds of Greensburg's

population—were left homeless. Despite the help that poured in during the following weeks, residents feared that their town had suffered a deathblow. Greensburg's population had been declining for years. Jobs had grown scarce, and few in the shrinking high school classes stayed after graduation. "We were barely making it before the tornado," says Wylan Fleener, whose century-old furniture store was reduced to a pile of bricks by the storm. Why rebuild a dying town?

Others saw in the devastation a blank slate on which Greensburg could build back better by building back greener—with energy-efficient homes and offices powered by Kansas' abundant wind and biofuel resources. The community could become a mecca for environmentalists, drawing green businesses and new jobs. Daniel Wallach, an entrepreneur from a nearby town, formed the nonprofit Greensburg GreenTown shortly after the tornado to promote this transformation. "It could be



Starting over Residents are building energy-efficient homes and offices

a living laboratory," he says, "to demonstrate to the rest of the country and the world what a town of the future could look like."

Greensburg residents were understandably skeptical. Many were still living in the clusters of trailers nicknamed FEMA-villes, and they were more concerned with getting any kind of roof over their heads than with the quality of its insulation. "There was resistance to change," says Gene West, the county commissioner. "This is a rural area and a conservative one."

Wallach and his allies began to shift local opinion by showing that going green wasn't just about saving the polar bears but also cutting waste and saving on rising fuel bills and building a stronger, more resilient town. Those arguments made sense even to Greensburg's old-timers. "Our church sometimes costs up to \$1,000 a month to heat," says George, who plans to reconstruct the building to meet the highest energy-efficiency standards. "Now, I'm not a tree hugger by any means," he says. "But we have to be prepared for a future in

which energy costs are only going up."

Today Greensburg is living up to its name. Consultants from the Department of Energy and the National Renewable Energy Laboratory are helping residents build new houses that are up to 50% more energy efficient than their old ones. In early January, the city council approved a plan that would make all public buildings in Greensburg conform to the platinum rating of the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED (leadership in energy and environmental design) standards—something no American town has ever tried. Ron Shank's car dealership will be rebuilt as a model green facility for GM.

Still, for some, Greensburg—green or not—will never heal. Former mayor McCollum, one of the first to raise the idea of building green, quit his post a few weeks after the tornado, citing exhaustion, and eventually moved with his wife to the neighboring town of Pratt. On a recent Friday, McCollum, 62, spoke wistfully of the town in which he had lived his entire life. He can't let Greensburg go, but he can't return either. "For me, it's completely gone," he says. "There's nothing out there for me but heartache."

## GLOBAL DISPATCH

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# Inbox



## When Clooney Came to Dinner

THANK YOU, JOEL STEIN, FOR THE WONDERFUL story about George Clooney's visit [March 3]. You totally reaffirmed what I thought to be true: Clooney seems like just a cool, down-to-earth dude you would love to have a beer with. If there were more people like Clooney in Hollywood (people who don't mind laughing at themselves rather than dying for attention), young actors wouldn't be living such chaotic lives. Next time you have Clooney over for dinner, let me know—I'll bring the wine!

Marc Falco, NORRISTOWN, PA.

I HAVE BEEN IN LOVE WITH CLOONEY since I first saw him on *ER*. How can I get him to come to my house and check my carbon monoxide alarm?

Nancy Harris, NEW YORK CITY

LAST YEAR I WAS HAVING DINNER with friends at a restaurant when Clooney walked in with a small party and took a table near the door. On my way out, I caught his eye, told him I hoped he would win the Oscar and then moved toward the exit. What happened next surprised my friends, who had urged me not to invade his privacy. Clooney called me back to his table, stuck out his hand and asked my

name. Then he said he greatly appreciated my coming over. He really is as Stein portrayed him.

Bob Wechsler, NEW YORK CITY

## MAILBAG

**Biggest mail getter:** Endorsing candidates



Newspapers should stick to reporting news. Let voters decide for themselves



Editors' picks add a welcome, informed voice to the political conversation

## Papers and Pols

I HAVE WAITED FIVE DECADES for someone to write about the foolishness of political endorsements by newspapers, and now managing editor Richard Stengel finally has [March 3]. For many years, I have owned and published three weekly newspapers, and we have never endorsed a political candidate at any level and never will. That's not to say we haven't published news stories that helped get some of them defeated.

Don Tabor, CLYDE, TEXAS

I DON'T UNDERSTAND ENDORSEMENTS either. They undermine objectivity to the detriment of our democracy. Editorials are fine; endorsements are not.

Saul P. Heller, JUPITER, FLA.

THE ASSUMPTION IS THAT THE COLLECTIVE wisdom of journalists and researchers can provide guidance as to who will make the best leader. Clearly it is a subjective call, but most readers can distinguish between editorial content and general re-

porting. No one is being told how to vote. Readers have the choice to make up their own mind.

Steven A. Ludsin, EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.

I'M A NEWSPAPER READER UNDER 30 WHO gets why newspapers endorse presidential candidates. First, what makes endorsements different from editorials? Second, I'm interested in whom my local paper endorses because I feel its staffers have been around the candidates, digging into the facts. Stengel's question speaks volumes about how far our expectations have fallen when it comes to newspapers.

Ryan Hagen, NEW YORK CITY

## Who's Got the Remote Control?

JAMES PONIEWOZIK'S PREMISE THAT THE Parents' Television Council is opposed to the communication of "ideas" is grossly inaccurate and missed the substance of the debate about *Dexter* [Feb. 25]. Broadcasters use the public airwaves for free, and they must do so to serve the public interest.

The requirement is not just an intriguing concept; it is the law. When broadcasters air an intensely violent premium-cable program like *Dexter*, in which the protagonist is a sociopathic serial killer, the public interest is not served; it is assaulted.

Tim Winter, President,

Parents Television Council, LOS ANGELES

AS A STAY-AT-HOME MOM OF THREE YOUNG children, I would never think of letting them view *Dexter*. I certainly do not need watchdog groups or the government prescribing what is viewed in my home. My advice for lovers of fun, intriguing, gruesome forensics programs: get real, be good parents and enjoy the shows while your kids are in bed.

Amy Croan, MAPLE VALLEY, WASH.

## 'U.S. leaders should stop shooting from the lip and open a dialogue with Raúl Castro to accelerate a needed change of course for Cuba.'

J. Patrick Grimes, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Howdy, neighbor Time for a new conversation with the island nation?



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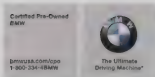
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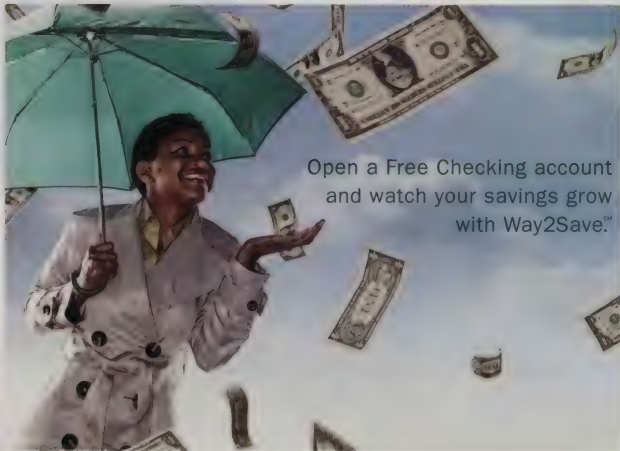




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"This is a process that always has two steps forward and one step back. We just need to make sure that it's just one step back." —GEORGE W. BUSH

# Briefing

THE MOMENT



## Diplomatic Dash. In Gaza, hurried new attempts to solve a very old conflict

ISRAEL HAS ENDED OPERATION Winter Storm, pulling its troops out of the Gaza Strip after five bloody days and more than 100 deaths, but the real blizzard is yet to come. Condoleezza Rice is in the Middle East trying to revive U.S.-sponsored peace negotiations, but Hamas is still lobbing rockets into Israel, Fatah is refusing to talk to Israel, and Israel is preparing for war.

The situation looks grim, which is unsurprising because this situation usually looks grim, except when it looks promising, which is in-

evitably followed by its looking grim again. The terrorist group Hamas, which doesn't want peace, has everything to gain by instigating conflicts that radicalize Palestinians and force Fatah to choose between peace talks and popular support. And Israel won't tolerate rockets for long.

This is embarrassing for the Bush Administration, which launched a splashy effort to mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict last November. But blaming the Administration alone for this sad state of affairs is off the mark; it's hard to

cure a patient who just doesn't want to be treated.

That said, it's worth recalling the contempt with which the Bush Administration viewed Bill Clinton's failed efforts to mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To Bush's team, Clinton's desperate pursuit of a deal—his

**It's hard to cure a patient who just doesn't want to be treated**

first-term Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, visited Israel 35 times—was a waste of presidential prestige. It smacked of utopian arrogance, as if Americans thought we could make a messy world be-

have the way we wanted it to.

But after 9/11, Bush stopped talking about a "humble" foreign policy and instead took out a dictator in Iraq and called for democratic elections throughout the Middle East. And when the Palestinians heeded those calls, Hamas won, a fresh reminder that the Middle East is especially lousy at behaving the way the U.S. wants it to.

The Secretary of State tried to explain the difficulties facing this round of peace talks: "We are three months into trying to resolve a conflict that has been going on for 50 years." In the Middle East, it's not just the fighting that's cyclical; it's also the desperate chase for an improbable resolution.

—BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD ■



**YEREVAN, ARMENIA**  
Eight killed in protests against allegedly rigged election



**JAMMU, INDIA**  
Indian government cancels debt for nation's small farmers



**WAGAH BORDER, PAKISTAN**  
Accused Indian spy freed

# Dashboard

## WASHINGTON MEMO

FOUR DAYS after Pakistani President

Pervez Musharraf declared emergency rule last November, a top State Department expert boarded a British Airways flight on her way to Pakistan for urgent strategy talks with U.S. diplomats at the embassy there. The stakes were high: President Bush had just called for Musharraf to hold new elections. In Pakistan, the military had begun a violent crackdown against demonstrators.

In the diplomat's bag were several classified documents improperly removed from the main State building. One of the intelligence documents was particularly sensitive, says a department official familiar with the incident. "It dealt with longer-term contingencies and scenarios for the state of emergency: how long could it last, what are the pressure points, what are U.S. interests," the official says.

TIME has learned that those classified documents went missing, for a short time at least. A few

days after her flight, the diplomat realized she no longer had the documents. As required, she informed diplomatic security. At the same time, British Airways called State and said the airline had found the sensitive materials. The diplomat was recalled and reassigned, and State launched a damage assessment.

The department declined to comment. Its report found no "serious damage to [U.S.] national security."

The diplomat has had her security clearance reinstated. But insiders say the loss of documents was a serious security breach. The U.S., scrambling for leverage at a particularly delicate moment, had potentially shown its hand to Musharraf or one of many political factions trying to overthrow him. Two of officials who read the report say it didn't determine who had gained access to the secrets. "One would like to believe that only airline officials saw this stuff," a senior U.S. official told TIME, but that "wouldn't be the best assumption to make."

—BY MASSIMO CALABRESI AND ADAM ZAGORIN

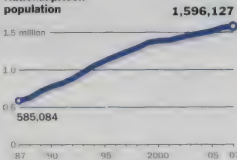
TOP SECRET

## PRISONS

### America Incarcerated

More than 1 out of every 100 U.S. adults is behind bars, according to a new Pew report. Violent crimes have dropped 25% since '87, but harsher sentencing for lesser crimes has caused overcrowding and fueled a thriving private-prisons industry. A look at who's doing time in the land of the free:

#### National prison population



Of every 100 inmates in prison or jail (91% male, 9% female)

**40.3**  
are black

**36.2**  
are white

**20.5**  
are Hispanic

**3.0**  
are other

## EXPLAINER

### Colombia Crisis



Colombia's U.S.-backed military crossed into Ecuador on March 1 and

killed up to 24 guerrillas from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)—including a leader, Raúl Reyes (above). The incursion rolled an already tense neighborhood and prompted Ecuador and Venezuela to send troops to their borders with Colombia.



#### THE ACCUSATIONS

Ecuador denounced the violation of its sovereignty, but Colombian officials countered by saying the raid yielded evidence that FARC had met with Ecuadorian officials—and that the group was trying to build radioactive dirty bombs.



## Briefing



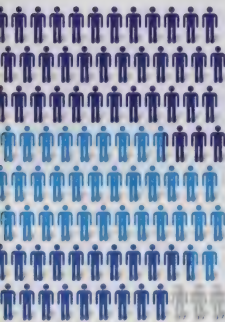
**TAN**  
after 35 years in prison



**BEIJING**  
Opening ceremony of the National People's Congress



**WOODINVILLE, WASH.**  
Radical green group suspected of setting mansions ablaze



**1 in 9**  
black men age 20  
to 34 are in prison

**1 in 36**  
Hispanic men age 18  
or older are in prison

**1 in 100**  
black women age 35  
to 39 are in prison

**1 in 106**  
white men age 18  
or older are in prison

**1 in 355**  
white women age 35  
to 39 are in prison

White and black categories exclude Hispanics and Latinos  
Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2006. Pew Public Safety Performance Project

### ECONOMICS

#### Loan Letdown

The Ivy League and Stanford have made news with free tuition for the middle class, but less noticed is the increasing loan trouble facing a much larger group of schools: community colleges.

**THE BOTTOM LINE** A shaky lending market has private loan companies rethinking whether investing in community-college students is too risky. More federally guaranteed loans could be key to helping this crucial student bloc get by.



#### WILL THERE BE WAR?

Ecuador's President called the raid a "massacre," and Venezuela's Hugo Chávez added his own bombast about U.S. efforts to spark a regional conflict. But experts say Venezuela and Ecuador rely too much on trade with Colombia to start a war.

### DIPLOMACY



#### This Place Is Big Enough for Both of Us

After claims of election fraud fueled months of ethnic violence in Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga have reached a power-sharing agreement. A look at other examples of enemies trying to rule together:



**CONFLICT** A decades-long clash between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

**OUTCOME** Peace. Last spring's power-sharing pact between the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Féin has held up.



**CONFLICT** Apartheid laws that heavily oppressed the black majority in South Africa.

**OUTCOME** Peace. Blacks and whites formed a transitional government that led to multiracial elections in 1994.



**CONFLICT** Hostility between the Palestinian militant group Hamas and Yasser Arafat's political party Fatah.

**OUTCOME** Violence. A 2007 accord ended when Hamas seized Gaza three months later.



**CONFLICT** Persistent intercommunal violence in Lebanon.

**OUTCOME** Crisis. A 1943 agreement apportions power according to ethnic identity, but the nation has lacked a President since November.

# The Page

## Campaign Insider. This economics guru advises John McCain, for free



**Beyond bean-counting** Holtz-Eakin, once the director of the Congressional Budget Office, now serves as a senior policy adviser for McCain's campaign

DOUGLAS HOLTZ-EAKIN KNEW THE 2003 BOEING Air Force tanker deal was a rotten, overpriced plan, but he was not supposed to say so. As head of the Congressional Budget Office, he had a simple job: crunch numbers, avoid policy disputes. But one day at a September 2003 Senate hearing, John McCain asked him directly: Do you think the deal should be approved?

"No," Holtz-Eakin replied, as his staff released a collective gasp of horror. Eventually, the tanker deal collapsed under a cloud of scandal, further cementing the bond between the Arizona politician and the Princeton-trained economist. "He got me," says Holtz-Eakin, remembering McCain's question. "I liked that."

He liked it a lot. The economist has devoted almost every waking hour since July working as McCain's unpaid senior policy adviser. "It is the hardest thing I have ever done," says Holtz-Eakin, 50. "I can live for an extended period of time on Twizzlers and Diet Coke."

Under his guidance, the campaign has developed an economic plan focused on cutting federal spending, reforming entitlement programs and ending congressional earmarks. But McCain also wants to extend all of President Bush's tax cuts and enact a costly new one of his own, raising concerns among budget hawks. The former congressional bean counter, however, is confident that a balanced budget can be achieved by 2012. "That's the goal," he says. —BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Politics up to the minute

Mark Halperin reports from the campaign every day on [thepage.time.com](http://thepage.time.com)



### THE VICTOR

#### McCain's Moment

With a sweep of four more states on March 4, John McCain officially captured the delegates needed to become the GOP nominee. By noon the next day, he and his wife were at the White House having lunch with onetime rival President George W. Bush and enjoying the embrace—albeit belated—of his party.



### BY THE NUMBERS

#### The Road Grows Ever Longer

Hillary Clinton's triple win on March 4 brings the total number of states that have voted to 36—and means the Democratic race could stretch into June. Can we handle this much democracy? Here's a look at primary end dates from the past:



### GOD-O-METER

#### Religious Illiteracy

Despite retracting his earlier description of the religious right as "agents of intolerance," John McCain still displays a religious tone deafness. Witness his campaign's recent enthusiastic reaction to the endorsement from Christian Zionist John Hagee. The Texas pastor has alluded to the Catholic Church as "the great whore" and has linked it to Hitler. It seems no one in McCain's camp was prepared for angry blowback



from Catholics. The conservative Catholic League says McCain "has shown horrendous judgment in biddying up to this bigot." McCain will only say, "I obviously do not" agree with "all of Pastor Hagee's views."



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# Verbatim



**'Together we can continue the course set by President Putin.'**

**DMITRI MEDVEDEV**, newly installed President of Russia, vowing to continue the policies of his predecessor Vladimir Putin. Medvedev won 70% of the vote in the country's heavily criticized March 2 election

**'You are a sad lackey of the empire, Uribe.'**

**HUGO CHAVEZ**, President of Venezuela, attacking pro-U.S. Colombian President Alvaro Uribe after Colombia's military launched a raid in Ecuador against Colombian rebels

**'Is it not funny that those with 160,000 forces in Iraq accuse us of interference?'**

**MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD**, President of Iran, following the first visit to Iraq by an Iranian President since the 1980s



**'I just remember such a sense of relief, and of being a human being, when everything was shut off.'**

**RUFUS WAINWRIGHT**, musician, recalling the 2003 New York City power outage and explaining why he's encouraging the city's residents to boycott electricity on June 21 for what he calls a "blackout Sabbath"



**'[We] were pretty much out of food, hadn't slept in days and were really cold. We had to reassess the whole situation.'**

**MARK BOYLE** (left), after failing in his attempt to walk from Britain to India without any money. Relying on the kindness of strangers, he got only as far as Calais, France (he doesn't speak French)

**'It is not actually reality, but my reality, my way of surviving.'**

**MISHA DEFONSECA**, Belgian writer, apologizing after her best-selling memoir of surviving the Holocaust was revealed to be fake. She isn't Jewish and was never in the Warsaw ghetto, as she had claimed



## NUMBERS

### SUICIDE

**1,269**

Number of successful suicide jumps off San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge since 1937. Although opponents worry that a barrier would mar the bridge's appearance, the city is considering various safety options, including a higher fence or netting to catch jumpers

**90%**

Percentage of people who were prevented from jumping off the Golden Gate who either are still alive or eventually died from natural causes

### HEALTH

**67%**

Percentage of U.S. hysterectomies that experts say may have been unnecessary. About 600,000 hysterectomies are performed every year

**33%**

Percentage of American women who undergo the procedure before they turn 60

### DOWRIES

**124,000**

Number of roses an Iranian court has ordered a man to pay his wife for her dowry. The couple have been married 10 years, but Iranian law holds that a wife can claim her dowry at any point in the marriage. The court has seized the man's home until he pays up



**\$2**

Cost of one long-stemmed rose in Tehran, making the dowry worth an estimated \$248,000

### MUSIC

**48%**

Percentage of U.S. teenagers who did not buy a single CD last year, up from 38% in 2006

**29 million**

Number of Americans buying music legally online, a 21% increase from 2006

Sources: Washington Post; CNN; BBC; Los Angeles Times; NPD Group





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# People



Q &amp; A

## Talking with Josh Holloway

The actor plays Southern con man Sawyer on ABC's *Lost*, which is in its fourth season.

**How do you balance playing a character who's both callous and sensitive?** It's been a nice evolution. I miss the simplicity of Sawyer's hard line—when you're just an ass, it's easy. [Laughs.] I like the subtleties of everything else, but I suck at it sometimes because I get confused.

**Was it a relief to be able to keep your Southern drawl?** Absolutely. By nature Southerners like to throw out sayings that help add a little comedy when something's not so comical. But I've got to get back to learning how to lose it again. For eight years in Hollywood, all I heard was "Get rid of that accent."

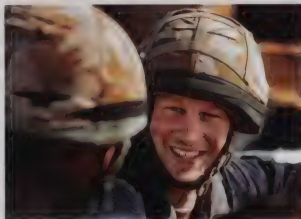
**Do you read the blogs that offer theories about the show?** I don't read them, but I get morning updates from my wife. Audiences are a lot smarter than studios give them credit for. They don't want clichés shoved down their throats.

**Lost was your big break. Did you ever think you'd make it in this business?** When I first started, I thought, I'm gonna be a big star. Then eight years later, I was skeptical. [Laughs.] I was going to move to the country, pursue real estate and be a forest ranger. My real estate license came in the mail three days before I booked *Lost*. I thought, Wow, I'll file that.



## A plot against Mick

The BBC revealed that the Hells Angels plotted to kill MICK JAGGER in 1969 for vowing not to rehire the group for protection after the Altamont concert, shown here, turned violent.



## Prince Harry's royal recall

Britain pulled PRINCE HARRY out of Afghanistan after websites, including the *Drudge Report*, leaked the news that the prince was serving on the front lines there.

## The kiss campaign

Some fans are asking CBS to let *As the World Turns'* gay characters LUKE SNYDER and NOAH MAYER smooch again. They last kissed in September 2007.



## CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

**Being treated.** AMY WINEHOUSE, with antibiotics, for impetigo, a contagious bacterial skin disease

**Teaming up.** LUKE WILSON and Swedish golfer JOHAN EDFORSS, to design a line of golf gear and attire for Puma

**Honored.** MARTIN SHEEN, with the University of Notre Dame's Laetare Medal, for the humanitarian work he's done to help fight poverty and homelessness

**Added.** CARLY SIMON, to Starbucks' Hear Music label, joining former husband James Taylor as well as Paul McCartney and Joni Mitchell

**Released.** NAOMI CAMPBELL, from a São Paulo hospital, after undergoing a 4½-hour surgery to remove a cyst

**Formally charged.** Actress BAI LING, with petty theft, after she allegedly stole two *Star* magazines and a package of batteries from LAX airport in February

# NOT BEING PREPARED FOR RETIREMENT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.



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# Milestones

**DEAD** CANCER TOOK THE eyesight of Grammy nominated rocker **Jeff Healey** before he turned 1. So at 3 he started playing the guitar on his lap, a style that became his trademark. As a teen, he gigged in Toronto clubs before starting his best-known group, the Jeff Healey Band. The blues-rock trio, who got a boost from



Coddington

their role in the Patrick Swayze film *Road House*, made it big with the achy, affecting 1989 hit *Angel Eyes*. On the side, Healey played jazz and deejayed a Canadian Broadcasting Corp. radio show drawing on his collection of 25,000 old 78-r.p.m. jazz records. Healey, who battled cancer all his life, was 41.

■ **INSTEAD OF CAVING IN** to pressure from her archaeologist father to enter academia, Guinean-born **Katoucha** (born Katoucha Niane) became one of the world's first African supermodels, hitting the runway for the likes of Christian Lacroix and Yves Saint Laurent and starting her own label. Postfashion, the gracious celebrity used her fame and her horrific experience as a 9-year-old to write a book and speak out against female genital mutilation. Katoucha, who apparently fell from the houseboat she owned

in Paris, had been missing since January. Her body was found in the Seine. She was 47.

■ **BEFORE HE WAS DUBBED THE "Stradivarius of car-building,"** **Boyd Coddington**, the guru familiar to fans from his cable reality show *American Hot Rod*, fixed cars at Disneyland. Then wealthy clients began to notice his hobby. Coddington designed everything from scratch on his stylish, award-winning reinterpretations of early Chevs, Fords and Caddies. Among his masterpieces: the CheZoom and the sleek CadZZilla, built for musician Billy Gibbons of ZZ Top. The cause of Coddington's death was not disclosed. He was 63.

■ **BRIT POP IS STILL GOING** strong, but to many, its heyday was the '60s—not just because of the Beatles but also because of stars like **Mike Smith**, the telegenic lead singer of the Dave Clark Five. The charismatic original British invader co-wrote some of



Smith, at bottom center

the Five's biggest hits (*Bits and Pieces*; *Glad All Over*) and helped the group earn 12 appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, more than any other British act. Paralyzed in a 2003 accident, Smith died of complications from a chest infection. He was 64.

■ **THE GAME OF MAKE-BELIEVE** took on an entirely new dimension in 1974 after **E. Gary Gygax** and Dave Arneson created the cultish, fantasy role-playing game *Dungeons & Dragons*. In the mythic game—an immediate obsession for smart, geeky teenage boys everywhere—players adhere to complex rules while pretending to be wizards, warriors, elves and other medieval-era oddballs.

The still popular *D & D* spawned TV shows, films and countless face-to-face and online imitators. Gygax, who had been in poor health, was 69.

■ **HER 1969** book, *The Doctor's Case Against the Pill*, is widely credited with sparking the women's health movement of the '70s. Pioneering author-activist **Barbara Seaman** began to research the high-estrogen

birth-control pill after readers of her magazine column complained of painful symptoms. Seaman's book, which exposed side effects, including stroke, heart attack and depression, led to highly publicized Senate hearings



Healey

and ultimately to mandated warning labels and patient information inserts. She was 72 and had lung cancer.

■ **MANY WILL NEVER QUITE** understand the definition of *quality control*—which is why it's fortunate that management trailblazer **Joseph Juran** devoted his life to the concept. His theories, notably the Pareto Principle, or 80-20 rule, were widely adopted by companies around the world that aimed to be more efficient. The rule, which asserts that 80% of effects arise from 20% of causes, is now applied to countless concepts, ranging from purchasing (20% of customers buy 80% of products) to management strategy (80% of production snafus stem from 20% of workers). Juran was 103.



Katoucha



**Back in the saddle** Clinton meets with supporters at Herrera's Café in Dallas on March 4, the day she won the Texas primary



Photograph for TIME by David Burnett—Contact

In the Arena



Joe

# Klein

## The Race Goes On

By focusing on national security—and laughing at herself—Clinton managed to stay alive. Now it's up to Obama to prove he's not just another politician

ON THE FRIDAY BEFORE HER RESURRECTION, HILLARY Clinton seemed exhausted, played out. She attended a funeral in Dallas for a policeman who had been killed in a traffic accident while accompanying her motorcade. Her campaign plane seemed funereal as well, reporters and staff sick—the dry, incestuous campaign coughs reverberating through the fuselage—and spent after the most intense eight week run in the history of American politics. She wandered into Waco, Texas, that afternoon, uninspiring before an unimpressive crowd. In San Antonio that night, her stump speech collapsed into unstructured chaos. She yelled hoary Democratic clichés at the crowd—“Health care should be a right, not a privilege!”—and it was easy to assume that she had thrown in the towel, that this was coming to an end.

And then something happened. From a distance it seemed that her charming, self-deprecating appearance on *Saturday Night Live*—and *SNL*'s reprise of a debate skit in which *MSNBC* moderators gang up on her—might have changed the zeitgeist. “Do I really laugh like that?” she asked her doppelgänger Amy Poehler, whose Clinton laugh resembles Clinton’s laugh only in its awkwardness. Poehler nodded, laughing, and Clinton’s “Yeah, well...” response seemed more spontaneous than anything she had done on the stump in a month of electoral massacres.



If nothing else, *SNL* had tapped into the slow boil that many of Clinton's female supporters had experienced during Obama's February—that feeling of taking a backseat to the egos of others who might not work as hard or know as much as they did. A feminine fury was abroad in the land; on March 4, women represented a staggering 59% and 57% of the Democratic electorates in Ohio and Texas, respectively.

But there were more prosaic, political things working to Clinton's advantage as well. Tiny fissures were beginning to appear in Obama's shining armor. I thought he won the Texas and Ohio debates with his elegant counterpunching and cool demeanor, but I was wrong: Clinton's policy details—her specificity and passion on health insurance during the 16-min. volley with Obama that was later, foolishly, derided by the media—apparently conveyed a degree of caring and preparation that seemed more reliable than her opponent's shiny intellect and rhetoric. On the ground in Texas and Ohio, she began to seem more real than he did.

**Outside the debates, there were the first sprigs of** evidence that Obama was a politician like any other. His association with the shady Chicago developer Antoin Rezko was almost benign compared with Bill and Hillary Clinton's buckraking, past and present—especially the ex-President's cornucopia of sleazy companions in recent years—but Rezko's suspicious visage was plastered all over the evening news on a nightly basis. It was not good that Obama had consulted with the guy to buy a roomier plot for the Senator's Chicago home, even if Obama had paid market price for it and pronounced the move “boneheaded” in retrospect. There was also Obama's strange NAFTA flap with the Canadians, in which one of his top economic advisers assured America's northern neighbor—accurately, no doubt—that Obama's anti-NAFTA ranting was just “political maneuvering” and shouldn't be taken seriously. The problem there wasn't merely that the North American Free Trade Agreement is (wrongly) considered synonymous with economic ruin in Ohio and not an issue on which a politician wants to be caught fudging but also that the Obama campaign had spent days denying a story that was obviously true.

There was another issue bubbling, which I hesitate to raise because it is largely scurrilous. It has to

## 1 The nominee

*After another round of primary wins for John McCain, President Bush endorsed the Senator, who locked up the GOP nomination*

## 2 Campaign close

*Mike Huckabee dropped out of the Republican race on March 4 and the next day backed his former rival McCain*

do with Obama's patriotism. There is a segment of the American populace that just can't get past his name. There are Internet sleaze purveyors—a few, sadly, with roots in the Jewish community—who have exploited this fact to spread slanderous nonsense about Obama. Hillary Clinton disgraced herself by playing into these innuendos by telling *60 Minutes* that Obama isn't Islamic “as far as I know.” Over the past few weeks, though, both Barack and Michelle Obama have given ammunition to the smear artists. Michelle's moment was her extremely unfortunate statement that the success of her husband's campaign had made her “proud of my country” for the first time in her adult life. The Senator's moment came in the Ohio debate when he played political word games before rejecting the support of the bigot Louis Farrakhan. The hesitation was noticeable—and unacceptable. There are other guilt-by-association problems floating out there: the occasional over-the-top racial statements by Obama's pastor Jeremiah Wright; the fact that Obama has been described as “friendly” with 1960s dilettante-terrorist William Ayers. It seemed clear on primary night that Obama was aware of this potential problem, as patriotism replaced hope as a theme of his concession speech. He echoed John McCain in citing Abraham Lincoln, and called America “the last best hope on Earth.” That was the only “hope” he mentioned—a fascinating calibration.

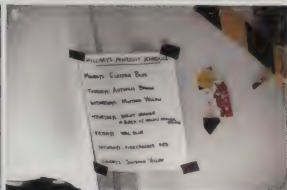
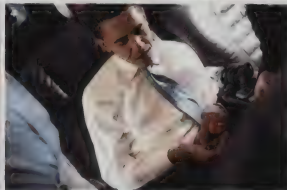
I'm not so sure that the other oft cited cause of Obama's stumble—Clinton's ad featuring the phone ringing in the White House at 3 a.m., which the Obama campaign called fearmongering—was all that effective. Until last week, Clinton had not spent any time at all exploiting her knowledge of military affairs and establishing herself as a strong Commander in Chief. In any case, Obama's lightning response—you want someone who was right about Iraq answering that phone—seemed devastatingly good. Even better was McCain's: if you want someone really experienced on national-security issues to answer the phone, that would be me.

**Clinton's late arrival to the national-security argument** seemed yet another example of an overcalculated, underthought campaign strategy. She had made the conscious decision not to talk about national security until the general election because, as one



## Campaign 2008

For continuing coverage of the presidential race, including daily dispatches, videos, the *Swampland* blog and Mark Halperin's take on *The Page*, visit [time.com](http://time.com).



of the generals supporting her told me, "Military stuff just doesn't make it with Democratic voters." In other words, it seems... militaristic. It doesn't poll as well as health care. But national-security expertise speaks directly to the question of strength and authority, which is central to the presidency. And this has been the fundamental mistake at the heart of the Clinton campaign: a stifling literalism, which leads to caution and an overweening sense of calculation; the absence of art and creativity.

It seemed, for a few days before the New Hampshire primary back in January, that Clinton had belatedly discovered the importance of openness and humanity. There was the press conference she ended by giving MSNBC's Chris Matthews, one of her long-time media tormentors, a pat on the cheek. There were the near-tears. I expected she would continue in that successful vein, but her campaign was immediately hijacked by her husband, who disastrously held center stage for weeks. She clenched up again after that: Bill was all anyone wanted to talk about and she couldn't. Her February nosedive ensued.

**Finally, with nothing left to lose, the actual Hillary Clinton** came back, in a dizzying array of moods and aspects that seemed to confuse the press. She was gracious toward Obama at the end of the Texas debate. She was furious—"Shame on you, Barack Obama!"—in Ohio. She was sarcastic, mocking Obama's high-flown rhetoric, in Rhode Island. And she was a tough-minded, gritty, independent woman throughout, a woman on her own, as so many working women find themselves these days, cleaning up the messes that their feckless men have made. I cannot emphasize enough how important it was that Bill Clinton was out of the frame. She appeared alone onstage in victory in Ohio—and alone is the only way she can win the nomination, on the slim chance that it is still possible.

Is it possible? The delegate count and the unfathomable rules of the Democratic Party say it probably isn't... unless she resorts to tactics that will make her candidacy seem sleazy and conniving, a course of action that will surely be self-defeating in the end. One would hope that her saying Obama is not a Muslim "as far as I know" on 60 Minutes was more the product of exhaustion than intent, but she could continue on the slimy

**3 Wake of victory**  
*Confetti carpets the podium where Senator Hillary Clinton delivered her victory speech after winning Ohio, Rhode Island and Texas*

**4 The ride home**  
*The morning after his defeat in three of four primaries, Senator Barack Obama sifts through the good-luck charms he keeps in his pocket*

**5 Candidate fashion**  
*Reporters poke fun on a Clinton plane, tacking up a mock calendar assigning a different color of pantsuit for each day for the Senator*

path of innuendo, raising questions about Obama's patriotism and provenance. More likely, she could choose to play technical games: attempting to seat the disputed Michigan and Florida delegations even though she agreed that they should not be seated. She could try to stampee the superdelegates, but that will happen only if she continues to win as convincingly as she did in Ohio and Texas—and that will happen only if she continues to play the role of hardworking, hard-fighting, essentially admirable candidate.

As for Barack Obama, it will not be sufficient to simply play out the math, continuing to take his share of delegates as he loses high-profile contests. He may win the nomination that way, but he will lose his rationale: that he represents a dramatic, tidal wave of a movement for change. In fairness, Obama did raise his game in recent weeks. His pitch was more down-to-earth, substantive and specific in Texas and Ohio. But his TV cool requires a certain distance, and distance easily slides into remoteness. Sitting on a tractor in Texas on March 4, he didn't look as out of place as Michael Dukakis in a tank—but he did seem like a tourist getting his picture taken with a longhorn cow, a visitor to the hinterland. He badly needs to get down, get gritty, sweat a little, show that he is willing to scuff his shoes in pursuit of the nomination. In most cases, you don't achieve the presidency without surviving a near-death moment—and, if nothing else, Clinton's victories have given Obama the opportunity to show us how he handles adversity. This is now his red-phone moment.

**But the victories gave Clinton so much more. Even if** she fails to win the nomination, as seems likely, she has finally defined herself as a public figure, and an attractive one at that, with a personality independent of her husband's. She isn't as clever as he is, but she's just as tenacious... and, in an odd way, more vulnerable and more real. Her flashes of anger and sarcasm, her occasional emotional overflows, her willingness to just go on about health insurance—these are all recognizable human qualities that, in the strangest turnabout of this campaign, have made her seem more accessible than her opponent. For the first time, she doesn't seem elite and entitled. For the first time, she's almost one of us.





CAMPAIGN '08

# Ready to Rumble

Hillary Clinton has rescued her campaign by getting a lot rougher on Barack Obama. But Democrats worry: How much collateral damage will be done before it is over?

BY KAREN TUMULTY AND DAVID VON DREHLE

**A**N ARKANSAS STATE LEGISLATOR once said of Bill Clinton that he would pat you on the back while he urinated down your leg. The corollary for Clinton's wife Hillary could be that she will tell the world how honored she is to share a stage with Barack Obama even as she's gearing up to smash him. When it comes to politics, the Clinton philosophy is simple: It's war, and wars are for winning. Bill put it this way, back in 1981: "When someone is beating you over the head with a hammer, don't sit there and take it. Take out a meat cleaver and cut off their hand."

With her presidential hopes at stake in Texas and Ohio, Hillary Clinton reached

for the cleaver. Her campaign made good on its promise to throw "the kitchen sink" at Obama, and that paid off with clear popular-vote victories in both states. What's more, she said, "I'm just getting warmed up."

Even for some of her supporters, those are ominous words. Democrats now face a reality they were hoping they might avoid: a knock-down, drag-out struggle between two strong candidates lasting at least seven more weeks and possibly all the way to the convention. For the party that was assumed to have the advantage in November against a GOP that was unpopular and riven by infighting, this turnabout is both depressing and distressing.

While the Democratic channel changed from *Happy Days* to *The Ultimate Fighter*, Republicans settled on their standard bearer. John McCain's final challenger, Mike Huckabee, bowed out with a smile. The GOP can begin regrouping and

**Back in the game** Hillary Clinton celebrates with her supporters in Columbus, Ohio, after she is projected the winner of the state's Democratic presidential primary

mobilizing for the general election this fall while the Democrats pitch headlong into an intramural scrum that could leave their nominee—whoever wins—scarred and limping. Donna Brazile, an at-large member of the Democratic National Committee, urged party chairman Howard Dean to intervene before matters get out of hand. (Dean remains largely out of the fight, saying in a statement only that “as we head toward November, our nominee must have the united support of a strong Democratic Party.”) “I’m really worried,” Brazile says. “Who opened up the gates of hell?”

Exaggeration? You can be sure that the Democratic race will be rough from here on out. Clinton’s victories in Texas and Ohio—states where her campaign estimates Obama and his allies outspent her by more than 2 to 1 on advertising alone—came only after she ramped up her assault on Obama. Her previous sweetness was getting her nothing but declining poll numbers. Clinton questioned her opponent’s honesty after it was reported that an adviser had assured Canadian government officials that Obama didn’t really mean his anti-free-trade rhetoric. “The old wink-wink,” Clinton said scornfully. Four days before the Tuesday primaries, she went up with a chilling and provocative advertisement juxtaposing images of slumbering children with the urgent ringing of the national-security hotline in the White House. “It’s 3 a.m. and your children are safe and asleep,” the announcer says. “Who do you want answering the phone?”

For months, the Democratic candidates, including Clinton, devoutly observed that any of them would be a better President than another Republican. But in leveling her charge that the first-term Illinois Senator would be unprepared in a national-security crisis, Clinton went so far as to compare him unfavorably with McCain. “I have a lifetime of experience I will bring to the White House. I know Senator McCain has a lifetime of experience he will bring to the White House,” she told reporters the morning before the contests. “And Senator Obama has a speech he made in 2002”—a reference to Obama’s declaration against the Iraq invasion that she and McCain had voted to authorize. Obama has repeatedly referred to that speech as proof that his judgment is superior, even if his résumé is shorter.

At the same time, the Clinton campaign stepped up its attacks on the media, insisting that Obama has been receiving kid-glove treatment. The theme sank into the broad public consciousness when Sat-



TIME Interview

## Clinton: One Day at a Time

**O**N THE DAY AFTER HER OHIO AND Texas victories, TIME managing editor Rick Stengel caught up with Hillary Clinton to talk about the challenges ahead. Here are some excerpts from the interview:

**TIME: The Obama campaign has been saying that it is almost a mathematical impossibility for you to win enough pledged delegates. How do you respond?**  
Well, I find it interesting that a campaign that is supposed to be about hope and inspiration resorts to some kind of mathematical argument... I feel very good about where I am in this race, because the comparisons are being drawn, questions are being asked. If people ask themselves who would be the best President to manage the economy and who would be prepared to be Commander in Chief on Day One, that is to my benefit.

**Can you envision a point at which—if the race stays this close—Democratic**

**Party elders would step in and say, “This is now hurting the party and whoever will be the nominee in the fall”?**

No, I really can’t. I think people have short memories. Primary contests used to last a lot longer. We all remember the great tragedy of Bobby Kennedy being assassinated in June in L.A. My husband didn’t wrap up the nomination in 1992 until June. Having a primary contest go through June is nothing particularly unusual.

**Could you envision it going all the way to the convention?**

I think we should take it one day at a time—I find that is usually a better policy in life and in politics.

**You’ve been quoted about whether there would be a possibility of a joint ticket. Are there are circumstances in which you would consider being his running mate if he were to offer?**  
This is all pretty premature. There are



3

#### Listen to Clinton

To hear the complete interview with Hillary Clinton, visit [time.com/hillary](http://time.com/hillary)

a lot of contests left. I think the question was certainly aimed at the historic nature of our candidacies and the possibility that we would have a unified Democratic ticket, and that may be something to consider down the road, but right now there are a lot of contests left, and I am doing everything I can to be successful in winning them.

**You criticized Senator Obama for his willingness to talk to certain leaders without any preconditions. How do you reopen diplomacy with Iran? What would be your strategy?**

I am glad you asked that, because Senator Obama has taken my criticism of his specific answer in an early debate and expanded it to somehow imply that I do not favor diplomacy with Iran. In fact, I believe I was probably way ahead of him in calling for diplomatic engagement with Iran going back several years now.

**Flying high** Taking a breather in the days of marathon campaigning before the Ohio and Texas primaries, Clinton jokes with the media aboard her campaign charter

urday Night Live returned from the writers' strike to make a recurring theme of the fawning press. Perhaps eager to prove that they can be equally tough on Obama, journalists filled that week with stories about Obama's Canada problem and his ties to an indicted Chicago real estate developer, Tony Rezko.

The numbers tell the story: it worked. And so, Howard Dean or no Howard Dean, there is going to be more of it. Indeed, the Clinton campaign has been trying to go on the attack since Obama's win in Iowa kicked off their epic struggle. Early attempts by Bill Clinton to scrape off some of Obama's smooth persona backfired, and later barrages—like the charge that Obama plagiarized parts of his speeches—failed only (a Clinton campaign official maintains) because the hectic calendar of primaries and caucuses allowed no time for them to “seep in.” You could fill an aquifer in the long stretch between now and the April 22 Pennsylvania contest.

And Obama has no intention of taking it without hitting back. “If she starts asserting that somehow I’m not ready and that one of the reasons that the Democrats or superdelegates should not vote for me is because ‘we don’t know enough about him’ or ‘there may be things in his past or his character that make him vulnerable to Republican attack,’ then I think it’s certainly fair to compare our track records to see whether or not I am more vulnerable to these kinds of attacks.”

**After years of battling the scandal machine** that Hillary Clinton once called the “vast right-wing conspiracy,” she and her inner circle feel well prepared for this sort of fight. Students of the Clintons’ long career have noted that they do better in a scrape. Combat brings them to the balls of their feet; by contrast, they tend to spring leaks on calm seas. Clinton’s successful attacks broke Obama’s 12-win streak that had buoyed him through a month of victories, and her advisers now feel they have put a stick in the spokes of his momentum. “They thought they could kill us,” a Clinton campaign official crowed as the Ohio and Texas results were coming in. “They know time is their enemy; time is our friend.”

That’s bold talk and could be true, though even inhabitants of the Amazonian jungle have probably concluded by now that the only certain thing in this race is

uncertainty. If you look at a four month graph of the campaign, you will see that up to now, time has been very, very good to Obama. He has turned a 20-plus-point deficit in the national polls into a dead heat, spoiled Clinton’s plans to wrap things up by Feb. 5 and ground his way through 43 primaries and caucuses to build a lead in pledged convention delegates that appears virtually impossible to close. As impressive as her wins in Ohio and Texas were, Clinton made up scant ground in the delegate count, where she now trails 1,186 to 1,321, according to CNN.

It is hard to come up with a scenario in which either candidate can amass the 2,025 delegates needed to win without relying upon so-called superdelegates. These are the roughly 800 party leaders

**‘They thought they could kill us. They know time is their enemy; time is our friend.’**

—A CLINTON CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL

and elected officials who are automatically delegates to the party convention this summer in Denver, and they are free to support whichever candidate they wish. In a sense, the Pennsylvania primary will be aimed directly at impressing them. Obama will get another chance to beat Clinton when all the chips are in the pot. For Clinton, it is another chance to demonstrate her appeal among core Democratic constituencies: women, older voters, Hispanics and households earning under \$50,000.

Her strategists argue that the general election will be a close fought contest that may come down to Florida and Ohio, two states where the Clinton coalition has been strong—or, alternatively, to a cluster of smaller states that includes Arkansas, New Mexico and Nevada. In most of those states, they say, Clinton’s supporters will matter more than Obama’s appeal among upscale voters and African Americans. They are, in other words, willing to admit that her hard-fought primary campaign could cost the party African-American votes in November.

Clinton officials note that the political terrain in Pennsylvania is, like Ohio’s, abundant with downscale voters who are feeling an economic pinch. And as in Ohio, she has the support of the Democratic Governor and can draw on his ground organization, which can help

to fill what has been a weakness in comparison to Obama's operation. If these factors once again add up to a big-state win, Clinton's team is sure to argue to the superdelegates that only she has the toughness necessary to survive the fall campaign and that Obama can't land the knockout punch. For a party still ruing the glass-jawed vulnerability of its 2004 nominee, John Kerry, this argument will likely pack some selling power.

Neither campaign releases its internal tallies of superdelegates, but since Super Tuesday, Obama has been cutting into Clinton's once formidable lead. The latest estimate by CNN suggests her edge is now only 238 to 199. "When you look at the numbers, this is a fistfight," says a Clinton strategist. "It is going to be a much more rugged fight, because her lifeline is these uncommitted delegates, and they can be shaky sometimes." Obama's team continues to push the case that the supers ought to follow the lead of the pledged delegates for the sake of party unity.

The morning after the four-state primary, Clinton adviser Harold Ickes, who is shepherding superdelegates for her cam-

## 'If she claims I'm more vulnerable to Republican attack ... it's fair to compare our track records.'

—BARACK OBAMA

paign, lost no time in visiting the ones on Capitol Hill who have already voiced support for her. His message: Hold firm. To the estimated 330 supers who have yet to commit, he says, Don't do anything rash. "What we are saying to the superdelegates is, 'Hold your fire, keep your powder dry, don't make a commitment,'" Ickes says. "We're going to do our level best to show [Obama] is not the strongest candidate in a general election."

Democrats know well how hard a Clinton will fight when everything is on the line and have learned from experience that they have reason to fear the consequences. In 1993 Bill Clinton's economic plan

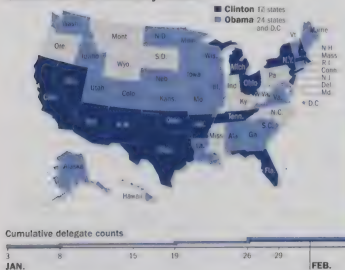
passed the House by a single vote, with Republicans waving their hankies at the Democrats whose votes put it over the top. Sure enough, the following year, most of the party's more vulnerable members were gone—and with them, the Democratic majorities in the House and the Senate, which had also fallen victim to the resounding rejection of Hillary's health care plan. And while Bill Clinton's tenacity got him through the Monica Lewinsky scandal in 1998, one of the consequences was Al Gore's defeat two years later.

This time, say some Obama supporters, the Clintons' win at all-costs mind-set could cost the party the November election. "The Clinton campaign strategy is simply going to be to try to run a scorched-earth campaign," says Obama campaign manager David Plouffe. "Which would be catastrophic for the party."

It all comes down to one thing, as Hillary Clinton made clear in her last press conference before the Tuesday primaries: "Winning. Winning. Winning. Winning. That's my measurement of success," she said. "Winning." —WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL/SAN ANTONIO ■

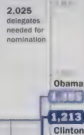
## Clinton's Comeback. She added three more states, but is it enough to grab the nomination?

Clinton has won some key states ...

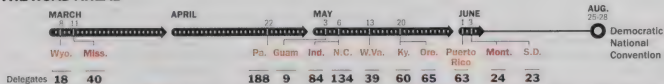


... but Obama leads in delegates

Even with her March 4 victories, Clinton still needs 812 delegates to win, while Obama must gain 670 delegates to secure the nomination



### THE ROAD AHEAD



**CLOSED** Voting in a party primary or caucus is limited to those registered with that party

**OPEN** People can vote regardless of whether they are registered with a specific party



I HAVE  
TO DO  
492  
SIT-UPS TO  
BURN  
OFF THIS  
WATER?



SOME VITAMIN ENHANCED WATERS  
ARE ENHANCED WITH 125 CALORIES.\*

flavor, vitamins,  
25 calories.\*

how fit is  
your water?



\*Calories from other sources. For more information, visit [propelwater.com](http://propelwater.com). ©2008 Propel Water, Inc.

# The Long Way Home

Barack Obama says he's "got game," but he'll need all his moves to stay ahead of Clinton

BY MICHAEL DUFFY AND NANCY GIBBS

**N**OT LONG AFTER MICHELLE Robinson started getting serious about the tall, skinny law student she was dating, she asked her brother Craig, a former basketball star at Princeton and now the head coach at Brown, to hoop it up with him, one on one. "She had heard our father and me talk about how you can tell a lot about a person's personality based on how they play," says Craig, recalling his first game against Barack Obama. "Especially when they're tired."

The two men played then and have played whenever possible ever since. Especially on primary days, when campaigns go silent until the results come in, Obama slips away to a gym—though it tells you something about him that he usually doesn't let anyone watch. On Tuesday, Team Obama found the Concord Athletic Club near the San Antonio airport, where he played five on five with aides and his Secret Service detail. He is captain, coach and referee all at once, sig-



**Channeling Adlai Stevenson** After a rally in Providence, R.I., a state that ultimately went for Clinton, Obama worked the phone





naling teammates to set up plays. A lefty, Obama keeps opponents off balance: fake right, then go left with a very quick cross-over dribble and a finish to the basket with his left hand. His instinct is to play opponents very close—though nowadays, says Craig Robinson, “everybody’s being real careful not to give him a fat lip or something that would show up when he’s on TV.” After a couple of hours, having won three of four games, Obama wanted to keep playing. “Every once in a while,” he says, smiling, “this 46-year-old body pulls out some moves.”

But as he was tapping into his inner 19-year-old, Hillary Clinton was winning three states out of four on the charge that Obama just wasn’t man enough to protect the country from its enemies, foreign and domestic. In her mockery of Obama for his pretty speeches and airy promises, Clinton’s subtext was always clear: you may like the music, but this guy is nowhere near tough enough for this job. It was a charge made explicit by the Red Phone ad, whose very existence testified to her own toughness: I’m prepared to do anything,

**‘I never hear from him on things we agree about. His decision-making process requires him to see the other side’s arguments.’**

—CASS SUNSTEIN, WHO TEACHES LAW AT CHICAGO AND HARVARD

including hand John McCain a grenade, to win this thing. She played on the guilty conscience of the national press corps, recasting herself as the vilified victim and Obama as the bubble-wrapped ingenue.

But you don’t rise in Chicago politics or come this far this fast in a national race by being soft, naive or scared of a fight. What has distinguished Obama in this campaign is how hard he has battled without appearing to do so. The message that moves the crowds at his rallies is made possible by many layers of calculation underneath. His mild manner belies fierce self-control. The frequent self-mocking conceals a stubborn self-confidence. He

not only plays hard; he plays to win, rubs it in sometimes if he does and takes losses hard. “He is,” says a friend who has known his share of strivers, “one of the most competitive people I’ve ever met.”

And he knows what game he’s playing now. Talking to *TIME* the morning after the latest primaries, he promised that there would be no double standards. “If she continues, as over the last week, to bring up real estate transactions and the character of our supporters who have provided donations to our campaign, then we will make certain that she has to answer those same questions with respect to herself, her husband and her campaign,” he said.

If Obama’s history is any guide, losses tend to speed him up, not slow him down. As a state senator in 2000, he took on the Cook County machine to challenge a sitting four-term Congressman and lost—a pre-emptive strike against the political establishment and a cocky signal that he wasn’t going to wait his turn. Valerie Jarrett, a friend and now a top adviser, recalls hosting a small brunch at her house at the end of 2002, when Obama was weighing a bid for the U.S. Senate. “It was Michelle, Barack, myself and maybe two or three others,” she says. “All of us came in lockstep to convince him not to run. For all of our arguments, he had a [counter]ar-



#### Listen to Obama

To hear the complete interview with Barack Obama, visit [time.com/barack](http://time.com/barack)

**Gearing up for victory** Obama takes a break from campaigning to shoot some hoops at the Spencer, Iowa, YMCA in December, before his big caucuses win

gument... and by the end of brunch, he'd convinced me to chair his finance committee." She remembers warning him, "You could lose, and if you lose, you've lost two races in a row—you're done." And he looked at me and said, "If I'm prepared to take that risk, aren't you?"

### The Game Plan

IN HIS MEMOIR, OBAMA RECALLS A TACTIC he learned as a black teenager in a white world. "People were satisfied so long as you were courteous and smiled and made no sudden moves," he writes. "They were more than satisfied; they were relieved—such a pleasant surprise to find a well-mannered young black man who didn't seem angry all the time."

But as the Obama campaign unfolded in 2007, the charge wasn't that he was too angry but that he wasn't angry enough. His party's more inflamed activists wanted a candidate who would burn bridges, not build them. If primaries are about winning the base, Obama's conciliatory approach could not have been more out of tune, and by last summer, he looked as if he might fizzle. His crowds were huge, and the money rolled in, but weeks went by, and he couldn't get traction. In debates, he seemed not to know what he was doing. "You could say he wasn't very good at debates," said a longtime supporter, "but that would be nice. He was just bad at it." Come September, he was trailing Clinton by about 2 to 1 in most surveys.

To the pros, the fix was obvious: "All of the experienced hands gave the same advice: 'You gotta get down, get dirty, get tough,'" said one, who echoed them too. But Obama pushed back, more willing to fight his advisers than to fight his opponents. A heated showdown in Chicago, attended by a core group of only half a dozen or so, took place over Labor Day weekend. "But he wouldn't do it," says one of the attendees. "Against all punditry, against the advice, against the history... It shows he understood his persona and the qualities that were implicit in it." And he understood what he stood to lose if he changed his game. "If I gotta kneecap her," he told them, "I'm not gonna go there."

This wasn't decency or chivalry at work; it was an understanding that the rationale for his campaign would fade if he became just another grubby politician—or angry black man.

But that moment of truth came when he was still establishing his brand; the

### TIME Interview

## Obama: Still Confident

**B**ARACK OBAMA FLEW HOME TO Chicago on Wednesday morning after the Ohio and Texas contests. Along the way, he spoke with TIME's Jay Newton Small about his next steps and the increasingly gritty race for the Democratic nomination. Here are excerpts:

### TIME: Are you going to take on Senator Clinton on foreign policy?

She has been able to assert throughout this campaign that she has 35 years of experience, that makes her more qualified. If somehow she can discount my 20 years of experience working as a civil rights attorney or as a community organizer or as a state senator or as a United States Senator and suggest that that career can be summed up in one speech, then I'm going to be interested in finding out what exactly she thinks makes her particularly well-prepared, for example, on foreign policy.

So let's ask a very simple question. Has she negotiated any treaties? When she traveled to these 80 countries, was she involved in policymaking? If so, what? My suspicion is that you're not going to get a bunch of particularly impressive answers.

### Are you saying you're more qualified than she is?

What I'm saying is that she has been able to assert experience that isn't backed up by a whole host of facts.

### Clinton threw the kitchen sink at you. What hurt the most?

You know, the truth is... we were down 20 in all these states, and so we

were working on closing the gap, but it's not clear to me that even if things were perfect that we could've entirely closed that gap—partly because she's a very vigorous campaigner and they had the resources to be able to get out there and hold that lead. And part of it was, there's a natural cycle on the coverage of these campaigns. I actually think that what probably had the most impact this past week was the press buying into this notion that they have been too tough on her or too soft on me. I actually think that had the biggest impact. She complained to the referees, and the referees gave her some calls.

### Let's talk about Tony Rezko for a minute. What was the nature of your discussions with Rezko prior to purchasing your home?

As I said before, he was a real estate developer in the area. This was the biggest purchase Michelle and I had ever made. It was a very expensive house relative to our previous condominium. And so I asked him to take a look at the house and to give me his opinion in terms of whether he thought it was worth it. I was essentially seeking a professional opinion from him in terms of whether it was a good buy.

### Did you generally or expressly state a need for help in buying both or either of the tracts?

No. I didn't need help.

### In going ahead, do you think a continued fight is going to be bruising to the party? Especially if it's going to get as nasty as you say?

I didn't say it was going to get nasty. I want to be very clear on this. I have no intention of getting nasty. I just want to make sure that we're not operating on a double standard that somehow she gets a pass on experience, she gets a pass on ethics, she can sort of assert whatever record she wants. If she continues, as over the last week, to bring up real estate transactions and the character of our supporters who have provided donations to our campaign, then we will make certain that she has to answer those same questions with respect to herself, her husband and her campaign.

### Can she still win?

I feel confident that we will.





politics of hope brought him a long way, but the calculations have changed. Obama will continue to tie Clinton to McCain and other Republicans for voting for the Iraq war and liken her experience to that of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. "I'm going to be interested in finding out what exactly she thinks makes her particularly well prepared, for example, on foreign policy," he told *TIME* on Wednesday. When her aides are asked, he notes, they cite, of all things, a speech, the one she gave on human rights in China in 1995. "Has she negotiated any treaties? When she traveled to these 80 countries, was she involved in policymaking? If so, what? My suspicion is that you're not going to get a bunch of particularly impressive answers." Meanwhile, Camp Obama is pressing for Clinton

leaves about 30% of the emotion on the table, wary of playing the Pentecostal preacher. Physically, he is uncommonly restrained: he keeps his hands close to his head, and his shoulders are always tight and squared. He repeats one mantra to his staff over and over during the insane days and nights of the campaign: "Stay cool. Stay focused. Don't get distracted."

Obama's instincts are often liberal if you look at his votes and his plans, but he is careful not to sound like a liberal. His stump speech is dotted with the Morse code of the middle—assurances that he understands what it is about liberalism that makes nonliberals nervous. He talks about the need to pay for better teachers but also about the responsibility of parents. He can be for "sensible" gun control,

political reasons made Obama seem dreadfully ordinary. But so did his initial denial that the two men had ever met. Obama's murky involvement with fund raiser Tony Rezko—and the exact nature of their complicated real estate deal in 2005 involving the Obamas' purchase of their Southside Chicago home—undercuts his claim to be a different kind of politician.

### Testing His Reflexes

**DURING THE COMPLEX DEBATE TWO YEARS** ago over whether President George W. Bush had acted illegally in authorizing a secret domestic wiretapping program, Cass Sunstein was sitting in his office at the University of Chicago law school when the telephone rang. It was Obama, which immediately tipped Sunstein to brace himself for an argument. "I never hear from him on things we agree about," he notes. In a blog posting a few days before, Sunstein had argued that the President might have had a legitimate legal basis for his action. Obama was skeptical.

Sunstein contended that the law authorizing military force in Iraq might have given Bush room to create the program; Obama countered that such a move was ruled out by the FISA law, which made no such provisions for an extralegal runaround. Sunstein maintained that the Constitution's Commander-in-Chief powers probably helped Bush clear that bar; Obama responded that the Supreme Court had not recognized such authority. On and on it went. "I tried not to waste his time," says Sunstein, "but he kept wanting to talk."

Sunstein, a former colleague, concluded that Obama wanted an interlocutor on hard cases, someone to help him chew through the pros and cons before he took a position. "His decision-making process," Sunstein says, "requires him to see the other side's arguments in a sympathetic light so he can say, 'I disagree, but I understand the opposing view.'"

He is the same way on the basketball court. Normally, a teammate notes, Obama sticks tight to his opponents and makes it almost impossible for them to move in any direction. But on Tuesday, Obama hung back more, watching from a safer distance, jogging along before seeing his opportunity to get the ball. Then, though he was hardly the biggest or the quickest man on the floor, he suddenly flashed under the basket, grabbed the rebounds and usually scored.

He will need that speed—and all his other instincts—as his one-on-one with Hillary Clinton enters its final quarter.

—WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL/  
SAN ANTONIO



**Between engagements**  
*The Obamas get a chance to exchange thoughts before a rally in the Houston Convention Center*

to release her tax returns, make public her vast, unseen records from her days as First Lady and peel back the secrecy surrounding who has given what to the Clinton Library. And Obama's campaign leveled its own charges at reporters for buying into the Clinton line that media coverage of Obama has been soft. "He has to find a way to bring out the contrasts without becoming a political attack dog," said a longtime Obama backer. "There's plenty of grist there."

### The Risks of Reasonableness

ONE DAY WHEN OBAMA WAS YOUNG, AFTER a bully stole his friend's soccer ball, his Indonesian stepfather presented him with a pair of boxing gloves and a key instruction: "You want to keep moving, but always stay low. Don't give them a target."

It might as well be his campaign motto. Obama was born in America but raised on its outer boundaries, neither white nor black but both. He's famed for his oratory, but watching him speak, you suspect he

like reinstating the assault weapons ban, but he can also tell Idaho voters, "I've got no intention of taking away people's guns." He says he's against school vouchers but would consider anything that is proven to help kids. His promises of more money for college are often tied to mandatory national service.

But that kind of aggressive reasonableness carries some risk: that he'll be seen as just another pol telling people what they want to hear but lacking any core convictions. That's the charge his political opponents are happy to make, and one the press corps has picked up as well. While Obama takes credit for opposing the Iraq war and warns that it drew America's focus away from Afghanistan, Clinton alleges that he never bothered to use his Subcommittee on European Affairs, which oversees NATO's role there, to hold substantive hearings. The allegation that his senior economic aide told a Canadian consulate official that the candidate didn't really plan to renegotiate NAFTA but was just saying that for

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# When the Good Guys Go Bad

The Darfur conflict has defied the best efforts of international envoys, Hollywood stars and campus activists. Now it is turning the victims into villains

BY SAM DEALEY/KEBKABIYA

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME  
BY YURI KOZYREV—NOOR

## Rebel rousers

Militiamen, like these in the north Darfur town of Kaguro, rose up against government oppression. But some rebel groups are themselves responsible for brutal atrocities against civilians







**A**S HE SIPs TEA ON A DUSTY MAT beneath the sparse shade of a thorn tree, Ahmed Hatum Shiiib Ahmed recalls the day in early 2006 when his tribal village in Darfur was attacked. Men in desert-beaten pickups with mounted guns swept in at noon, strafing the market and shooting villagers. Then just as quickly, the fighters withdrew to the outskirts, cordoning the village and trapping its inhabitants. In the days that followed, they terrorized the villagers. They stole cattle and camels, eating what they needed and sending the rest on long caravans to distant markets for sale. One by one, over grievances large and small, 20 villagers were killed. On donkey and on foot, the besieged inhabitants stole away in the nights, making the arduous trip across the rock-strewn landscape in search of a safer place. "At times like this, a family has lost all of its resources," says Ahmed, a tribal elder. "This is what



#### Extreme isolation

*The perilous roads in the mountainous north Darfur region of Jebel Si, above, are controlled by rebel groups*

#### No rest for the weary

*A rebel fighter on duty, right, in Kaguro, at the foot of the Jebel Marra mountains*

Darfuri rebels believe they can ward off perils—snakebites and bullets alike—with these leather pouches, which contain verses from the Koran







happens," he says, and with a sweep of his hands takes in the squalid campsite near the camel-trading town of Kebkabiya.

Among Darfur's displaced, Ahmed's story is a familiar one. Over the past five years, in countless villages across the region, civilians have borne the brunt of a war between government backed militias known as *janjaweed* and rebels. Some 200,000 people are dead from violence, hunger and disease, and 2.5 million more are displaced. Although the conflict has no clear ethnic or religious lines, the *janjaweed* hail from nomadic tribes that identify themselves as Arab, and the rebels represent settled tribes usually labeled African. The plight of the Darfurians has received worldwide attention, with Hollywood stars like George Clooney, Angelina Jolie and Don Cheadle taking up cudgils on their behalf. The crisis has also become a campus cause in the West, with students taking up collections, demonstrating and

**Amulets and ammunition**

*A rebel fighter in Kagufo shows off his weapons and his talismans. The conflict in Darfur is usually portrayed as a contest between Arabs and Africans, but there are no clear ethnic or religious lines between them*



#### African Tragedy

For more of  
Yuri Kozzyrev's photos  
of the crisis in Darfur,  
go to [time.com/darfur](http://time.com/darfur)

attending benefit concerts. Their cry is as simple as it is poignant: Save the Africans before the Arabs destroy them all.

But in Darfur the days of moral clarity, of easily identifiable good guys and bad guys, are long gone. Ahmed is a Maharia, an Arab—the overwhelming majority of whom take no part in the war. And the men who attacked his village are African rebels who rose up against oppression but also mete it out themselves. The Darfur conflict today bears little resemblance to the one that seized international attention four years ago. The rebels are splintered into as many as 20 competing factions; groups of *janjaweed* militias, dissatisfied with the rewards promised by the government, are crossing sides to join their former enemies; and warring among all tribes has increased. Amid the chaos, the regime of President Omar Hassan al Bashir continues its brutal crackdown, aggressively attacking rebel redoubts, indiscriminately killing civilians and razing entire villages.

The rebel factions adopt names imbued with idealism, like the Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance and the United Front for Liberation and Development, but their political goals are ill defined, and their chief concern seems to be maintaining their fiefs against rivals rather than protecting the civilians they claim to represent. Alliances form, only to break again, often for no greater reason than the personal ambitions of their leaders and the inevitable clashes they provoke. "It's like a play," says Azzedine Zerual, a project director with UNICEF in north Darfur. "You are my friend today, but you will be my enemy tomorrow. Maybe in a month they'll be friends again, and then enemies."

The splintering among rebels and *janjaweed* is undermining international efforts to end the conflict. Military solutions are proving futile: the 9,000-odd U.N. and African Union peacekeepers currently in Darfur have failed to stanch the violence, and the planned deployment of 17,000 more has been delayed by Sudanese government intransigence, insufficient troop contributions and a lack of equipment—notably helicopters, a critical component when policing a region almost the size of Texas. Attempts to get the warring parties to negotiate a settlement have gone nowhere. The rebels' goals vary wildly, and their personalities are prickly. "You can't have a peace process until [the opposition groups] sort themselves out," says Alex de Waal, a Sudan expert at Harvard University. "They'll want to prove themselves on the battlefield before they get serious about peace."

Sudan's killing fields have grown. Fighting along Darfur's western border

has spilled into Chad, where a separate civil war is brewing, and rebel attacks against Chinese-run oil fields and Sudanese police garrisons in the neighboring region of Kordofan threaten to push the war eastward. The rebels say the attacks against China's assets are justified by Beijing's support for the Sudanese regime. But while China has since exerted some limited pressure on Khartoum to resolve its crises, the rebel raids could serve only to expand the theater of hostilities.

Amid continued militia and government attacks, it is Darfur's civilians—both Arab and African—who suffer most. Battles last year drove more than 280,000 from their homes. Some find their way to Darfur's swollen relief camps, home now to well over a third of the region's population. But the camps are not immune to the violence. Many are controlled by the armed factions, and gangs of all stripes rob and rape many of those who venture outside. Other refugees wander Darfur's unforgiving scrub, searching for a village or patch of land with some semblance of stability. Darfur's humanitarian operation, already the largest in the world, struggles to service the displaced. Roads are a gauntlet of banditry, and attacks on relief workers are rising.

So, what can be done? International envoys are cobbling together yet another round of peace talks, but for meaningful negotiations to proceed, security must first be restored. The initial step is to ensure that the peacekeepers protect the camps so aid workers can operate freely and escort humanitarian convoys. While there's a great deal of pressure on the Sudanese government, more could be applied to the rebels, who sometimes take international outrage over Darfur as a license for murder. And the aid community should increase efforts to service the Arab majority—people like Ahmed, who suffer many of the same hardships as the Africans.

Driven from their prosperous village, Ahmed and his tribesmen now huddle under crude shelters made from tree branches and strips of cloth and tarpaulin, so destitute they don't even have enough glasses to share in the ritual tea offered to visitors. Ahmed says his people, as Arabs, get no international sympathy. "Even these [relief agencies], they came here with the idea that we are criminals," he says. "Everyone thinks we are criminals, so they do not help." He insists his village never took up arms against its aggressors, but the conspicuous absence of young men in his group suggests otherwise. Stripped of their homeland and modest wealth, they've almost surely joined the war that no one seems able to stop. ■

# Not a Watt to Be Wasted

With power supplies getting tighter around the world, scientists are looking to scavenge extra energy from heat, rainstorms—even footsteps

BY BRYAN WALSH

**Y**OU WON'T FEEL COMFORTABLE OR fashionable walking around with Max Donelan's invention strapped to your knee. The bulky 3.5-lb. (1.6 kg) gadget "is not that pleasant," says Arthur Kuo, a biomedical engineer at the University of Michigan, who co-wrote an article on the brace that appeared in *Science* last month. But Donelan's device pays off in other ways. Using the same principles that allow hybrid cars to recycle energy created in braking, braces worn on both knees can generate 5 watts of electricity by harvesting the energy inherent in a walker's stride. That may not sound like much, but

environment, industrial activities and even the heat and motion of our bodies. "Energy-scavenging has been around for years, but because of the fuel crisis, everyone from big companies to small ones is looking to utilize it," says Marc Poulshock, president of Thermo Life, which produces devices that can harness thermoelectric energy. "It's a very hot topic."

One of the most abundant forms of unused energy in the environment is the vibrations that are a by-product of motion. Think of the rumblings of a bridge in heavy traffic or even the pulse of a dance floor. That's essentially free movement, and scientists can transform that micro-motion into electricity in a number of ways. One should be familiar from high school physics class. A magnet hooked up to be sensitive to vibrations wobbles inside a copper coil, generating a current through electromagnetism. Steve Beeby, an engineer at the University of Southampton in Britain, created a vibration harvester that works on that principle much more efficiently than similar devices did in the past. The electricity isn't much: his devices now generate hundreds of microwatts at most, and there may be an upper limit to how much energy can really be scavenged from vibrations. "It's very unlikely on a big scale," says Beeby, who directed the European Union's Vibration Energy Scavenging project. "It will never compete with wind power or anything like that."

But vibration power does have its uses. The shaking of a bridge could power tiny sensors to monitor the structure's physical integrity. Or the steady vibrations of a beating

**'Sixty percent of the world's energy is wasted as heat. If we could tap into just 10% of that, it would be a big thing.'**

—RAMA VENKATASUBRAMANIAN, THERMOELECTRIC EXPERT, RTI

it's enough to charge 10 cell phones, and it's absolutely free. "People like the idea of generating their own power," says Donelan, a kinesiologist at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. "If you do things in a clever way, you can get energy cheaply."

Getting energy cheaply has never been more necessary than it is now, with oil recently breaking its all-time inflation-adjusted high price. The era of inexpensive power is over, perhaps for good, which means it's time to extend beyond energy efficiency to energy-scavenging, harnessing the sort of wasted watts we wouldn't have bothered with in the past. Fortunately, scientists are finding new ways to harvest unused energy from the





#### BRIDGE VIBRATION

As cars pass over a bridge, they cause vibrations, which are picked up by attached magnets. The motion of the vibrating magnet inside a coil of copper wire produces an electromagnetic current

**Energy harnessed:** Potentially 20 to 120 microwatts



#### RAIN POWER

French researchers found that when raindrops strike a strip of material that is sensitive to electricity, they can generate a tiny but steady current powerful enough to drive micro electrical devices

**Energy harnessed:** Roughly 1 microwatt per drop



#### ELECTRIC NANOFIBERS

Scientists developed yarn made out of electricity-receptive nanofibers. When strands of the yarn are rubbed together, they produce a current, allowing clothes to provide power

**Energy harnessed:** Potentially up to 80 milliwatts per sq m of cloth

#### KINETIC ENERGY

A team of Canadian and American scientists has made a device that harvests the energy contained in a person's stride. With the same technique used in a hybrid car's regenerative braking, the brace harnesses the power expended when a walker brakes the knee after swinging the leg forward to take a step

**Energy harnessed:** 2.5 watts per step

human heart could be harvested to run a pacemaker. Not only is vibration energy free, but the power sources for devices it fuels wouldn't have to be replaced every few years—meaning cardiac patients wouldn't need their chests cut open periodically to replace the batteries in their pacemakers. "These are places where there's no source of power but plenty of vibrations," says Roy Freeland, CEO of the British vibration-power start-up Perpetuum. "You can just fit and forget."

You can scavenge motion energy more directly with piezoelectric, or electricity-sensitive, materials, which generate a charge when compressed. That's the principle behind one of the most innovative forms of energy-scavenging: rain-harvesting. Researchers led by Jean-Jacques Chaillout at France's Atomic Energy Commission found that a 25-micrometer-thick strip of piezoelectric material (the diameter of a thin strand of human hair) could produce about 1 microwatt per raindrop. That's barely noticeable, but it could be enough to power environmental sensors, especially in areas where condensation is constant—like the inside of a nuclear power plant's cooling towers. "When you add up all the materials and costs in powering, battery production and charging you save with [the strips], it really adds up," says Chaillout. A similar technology is being explored by Georgia Tech researchers who developed a piezoelectric yarn that produces a current when strands are rubbed together—perhaps giving tailors the ability to one day make a literal power suit.

But piezoelectrics pale next to the biggest opportunity to scavenge energy: heat. The thermoelectric effect—temperature differences between two ends of a circuit can be converted directly to voltage—allows us to recover some of that lost energy. For years the technology was too costly to be widely used outside extreme examples like the space program, but new companies like the California-based Thermo Life can produce energy from relatively small temperature differentials. Right now it's used mostly to power rechargeable batteries in wireless devices, but as the technology improves, it could begin to harness the vast amount of energy lost as heat in the fossil-fuel plants that provide most of our electricity. "Sixty percent of the world's energy is wasted as heat," says Rama Venkatasubramanian, a thermoelectric expert at the research firm RTI International in North Carolina. "If we could tap into just 10% of that, it would be a big thing for energy efficiency." Let's hope he's right: there's not a watt to waste.

—WITH REPORTING BY LAURA BLUE/  
LONDON AND BRUCE CRUMLEY/PARIS



# King of the Cheeseheads. There will be better quarterbacks than Brett Favre. But none will match his bond with Green Bay's fans

BY SEAN GREGORY

IT'S NOT THAT I DIDN'T BELIEVE; I JUST needed to see it for myself. And there it was, bobbling on the church windowsill. Before this year's NFC championship game between Brett Favre's Green Bay Packers and the New York Giants, I traveled to Green Bay to try to capture the singular bond between Favre, the legendary quarterback who announced his retirement on March 4, and the NFL's company town, where Packer football is more than a Sunday pastime. After riding along Packerland Drive in the -7 °F (-22°C) chill, I pulled into the parking lot of Beautiful Savior Lutheran Church, to glean some insight into whether football really is religion in Green Bay, and Favre the Heavenly Father. The avuncular pastor, Steve Witte, shared some concerns that fans had called a reverse on their priorities. There were the shuffled services and the canceled choir practices to accommodate Packer kickoff times. But Pastor Witte knows whence he serves. On his sill stood two sacred bobbleheads: one of Martin Luther, the other of Brett Favre.

We'll probably never see this relationship in pro sports again. Big league teams aren't owned by the community, as the Packers are, and don't play in small-market towns like Green Bay, an icy industrial city of 100,000 nestled in northeast Wisconsin. Big-league quarterbacks don't throw like Brett Favre—for 275 straight games (including the playoffs) over 16 years, an all-time record 61,655 yds. He threw it hard and threw it wild—a record 288 career interceptions—through searing pain, prescription drug and alcohol addiction, deaths in the family. We'll never forget *Monday Night Football*, 2003—399 yds. on the day after his dad died, a memorial of spirals.

Big-league players and tiny towns don't bear-hug each other the way Favre and Green Bay did. On the field, Favre

gave Green Bay thrills, chills and a Super Bowl. Off the field, his foundation helped disadvantaged kids in the place where he worked and in his home state of Mississippi. Post-Katrina, groups of Green Bay volunteers trekked down to Favre's hometown of Kiln to assist in the rebuilding effort there. "For a boy from the South, he



**Pack man** A gunslinger, Favre played hard—and hurt

was one of us," says Jo-Ann Mikulsky, 55, a Green Bay homemaker. "He gave us all the leadership you can ask for."

As he holsters that arm, it's fair to ask if Cheesehead love for Favre was overripe. "No, I don't think so," said Irene Olson, 86, who wore a glittered Packer sweater to church the morning of the Packers-Giants tilt. "Especially since I'm one of the ones going overboard." Dawn Bugos, a Milwaukee resident I had met at the New York City airport gate, slipped me three separate, impeccably handwritten

notes describing her feelings for Favre. "Fierce. Passionate. Hilarious. No ego included—ever," read one. In January an SI.com columnist had said a La Crosse, Wis., man named Robert Ruprecht actually dreamed about going shopping with Favre. I called Ruprecht to assess his mental state. "Believe me, if Freud were still alive," said Ruprecht, "I would call him myself to analyze it."

Michael Holton, who grew up in Milwaukee and now lives in Atlanta, built a Packer-themed vacation house across the street from the team's home at Lambeau Field, complete with a flat-screen TV that displays a picture of the stadium. That TV sits above a urinal in his bathroom. "I'm in love with Brett Favre, O.K.?" Holton says. "He's a different breed from what's been developed over the last 10 years."

Sure, it could all pass as creepy at times. But today athletes are harder to admire, so you have to envy the connection between Cheeseheads and Favre. Football—and sports—is worse off now that he's gone. And though the Giants had a riveting run to the championship, I wish I could have soaked up Green Bay on a night that Favre led the Packers to a Super Bowl. I mean, is anyone less deserving of a more horrid final moment than Favre? His last fling sailed right into the hands of Giants cornerback Corey

Webster, setting up New York's upset.

Long after that game was over, past midnight, I wandered over to a Green Bay sports bar, expecting tears on tap. But you never would have known the Packers lost: fans in Favre jerseys were drinking, dancing, carrying on. Green Bay can accept a loss. "Tiletown" bid goodbye to the great Bart Starr once; it will move on without Favre. It'll be odd, though. "I can't imagine the Packers without him," said Olson, the nice lady from church who has been following the team for 76 years. "Can you?" ■



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# Saving Cities, and Souls

The writers of *The Wire* believe the war on drugs has ruined millions of lives. Here's their controversial suggestion for how to end it

WE WRITE A TELEVISION SHOW. MEASURED against more thoughtful and meaningful occupations, this is not the best seat from which to argue public policy or social justice. Still, those viewers who followed *The Wire*—our HBO drama that tried to portray all sides of inner-city collapse, including the drug war, with as much detail and as little judgment as we could muster—tell us they've invested in the fates of our characters. They worry or grieve for Bubbles, Bodie or Wallace, certain that these characters are fictional yet knowing they are rooted in the reality of the other America, the one rarely acknowledged by anything so overt as a TV drama.

These viewers, admittedly a small shard of the TV universe, deluge us with one question: What can we do? If there are two Americas—separate and unequal—and if the drug war has helped produce a psychic chasm between them, how can well-meaning, well-intentioned people begin to bridge those worlds?

And for five seasons, we answered lamely, offering arguments about economic priorities or drug policy, debating theoreticals within our tangled little drama. We were storytellers, not advocates; we ducked the question as best we could.

Yet this war grinds on, flooding our prisons, devouring resources, turning city neighborhoods into free-fire zones. To what end? State and federal prisons are packed with victims of the drug conflict. A new report by the Pew Center shows that 1 of every 100 adults in the U.S.—and 1 in 15 black men over 18—is currently incarcerated. That's the world's highest rate of imprisonment.

The drug war has ravaged law enforcement too. In cities where police agencies commit the most resources to arresting their way out of their drug problems, the

arrest rates for violent crime—murder, rape, aggravated assault—have declined. In Baltimore, where we set *The Wire*, drug arrests have skyrocketed over the past three decades, yet in that same span, arrest rates for murder have gone from 80% and 90% to half that. Lost in an unwinnable drug war, a new generation of law officers is no longer capable of investigating crime properly, having learned only to make court pay by grabbing cheap, meaningless drug arrests off the nearest corner.

What the drugs themselves have not destroyed, the warfare against them has. And what once began, perhaps, as a battle against dangerous substances long ago

**If there are two Americas—separate and unequal—and if the drug war has helped produce a psychic chasm between them, how can people begin to bridge those worlds?**

transformed itself into a venal war on our underclass. Since declaring war on drugs nearly 40 years ago, we've been demonizing our most desperate citizens, isolating and incarcerating them and otherwise denying them a role in the American collective. All to no purpose. The prison population doubles and doubles again; the drugs remain.

Our leaders? There aren't any politicians—Democrat or Republican—willing to speak truth on this. Instead, politicians compete to prove themselves more draconian than thou, to embrace America's most profound and enduring policy failure.

"A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right," wrote Thomas Paine when

he called for civil disobedience against monarchy—the flawed national policy of his day. In a similar spirit, we offer a small idea that is, perhaps, no small idea. It will not solve the drug problem, nor will it heal all civic wounds. It does not yet address questions of how the resources spent warring with our poor over drug use might be better spent on treatment or education or job training, or anything else that might begin to restore those places in America where the only economic engine remaining is the illegal drug economy. It doesn't resolve the myriad complexities that a retreat from war to sanity will require. All it does is open a range of intricate, paradoxical issues. But this is what we can do—and what we will do.

If asked to serve on a jury deliberating a violation of state or federal drug laws, we will vote to acquit, regardless of the evidence presented. Save for a prosecution in which acts of violence or intended violence are alleged, we will—to borrow Justice Harry Blackmun's manifesto against the death penalty—no longer tinker with the machinery of the drug war. No longer can we collaborate with a government that uses nonviolent drug offenses to fill prisons with its poorest, most damaged and most desperate citizens.

Jury nullification is American dissent, as old and as heralded as the 1735 trial of John Peter Zenger, who was acquitted of seditious libel against the royal governor of New York, and absent a government capable of repairing injustices, it is legitimate protest. If some few episodes of a television entertainment have caused others to reflect on the war zones we have created in our cities and the human beings stranded there, we ask that those people might also consider their conscience. And when the lawyers or the judge or your fellow jurors seek explanation, think for a moment on Bubbles or Bodie or Wallace. And remember that the lives being held in the balance aren't fictional. ■

The authors are all members of the writing staff of HBO's *The Wire*, which concludes its five-year run on March 9



**Gentlemen of the jury** Burns, Simon and Pelecanios, from left, on one of the Baltimore blocks where their show is set, are advocating a form of civil disobedience.



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# Life

LIVING RELIGION TECHNOLOGY

The site, a Christian version of the satirical paper the *Onion*, is recognized as a healthy supplement in an irony-poor culture

—DAVID VAN BIEMA, RELIGION, PAGE 55

Unique pleasure  
A limited-edition, hand-painted vial of *Petite Chérie* perfume by Annick Goutal



## LIVING

**Scents and Sensitivity.** Some perfume lovers have a passion for rare fragrances made in small batches

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

EVA PASCO, WHO LOOSELY BASED HER NOVEL *Underlying Notes* on her fragrance addiction, has boxes and trunks and specially made cabinets all over her house for her perfume collection. She calls herself a "fragrance floozy," but she's no eccentric kook. At least half a million people like her subscribe to blogs like *Sniffapalooza* and *Now Smell This*, virtual

Photographs for TIME by Erika Larsen

clubhouses for those who love perfumes, particularly hard-to-find niche brands.

These consumers are the bright spot in the \$2.9 billion high-end fragrance industry, whose sales declined slightly in 2007. Niche perfumes were only 9% of that market, but their sales have risen 60% since 2005, says Karen Grant of market-research firm NPD—especially striking since most niche brands start at about \$100

## 'It's not superficial. It's a link to your mood.'

—CHRISTOPHER VOIGT, OF THE BLOG *VETIVRESSE*, ON WHY SELECTING A FRAGRANCE IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF GETTING DRESSED EACH DAY

for 1.7 oz. (50 ml) while the average cost of a scent that size is \$31, according to Euromonitor.

Now everyone is trying to nose in on this growing market. *Sniffapalooza* hosts a yearly event in New York City that gives members access to perfumers at European houses like the 250-year-old Creed and to retailers like niche specialist Aedes de Venustas. Recently the group met with Chanel for a lesson in the art and origin of its iconic perfumes and even got an exclusive sneak sniff of its new scent *Sycomore*, which launched two days later.

One of the 60 attendees, Christopher Voigt, is a freelance copywriter whose blog *Vetivresse* explores his twin passions for wine and fragrance—which both stimulate multiple senses. "It's not superficial. It's a link to your mood," Voigt says of selecting scents when dressing. "Am I going to be the nerd today? Or am I going to be the macho catch?"

This personal relationship with perfumes, which smell different on different people and at different times of day, distinguishes scentophiles, like oenophiles, from other collectors. Says March Dodge, an editor of the blog *Perfume Posse*, which had 50,000 unique visitors in January: "I like shoes, but shoes are boring."



A special aura  
Scents on display  
in New York City  
at Aedes, which  
ships samples of  
hard-to-find Old  
World perfumes

## The Six Scents. Taste in fragrance is subjective, but these lesser-known perfumes suit nearly every mood

The perfume industry's capital is Paris, but you can find its heart online at [sniffapalooza.com](http://sniffapalooza.com). Since 2004, founder Karen Dubin and manager Karen Adams have led some 500,000 fragrance lovers in exploring the compositional notes and emotional impact of perfume. Dubin, who owns too many scents to count, highlights the six she can't live without:

### 1) MITSOUKO

By Guerlain; recalls Yves Saint Laurent Opium

**Key notes:** Floral, oakmoss, peach

**Dubin:** "A scent for a woman, not a young girl. Complex and mysterious. A true chypre. Makes men go weak in the knees."

### 2) BOIS DE PARADIS

By Parfums DelRae; recalls Ralph Lauren Hot

**Key notes:** Bergamot, French rose, cinnamon, blackberry, wood, amber

**Dubin:** "Genius" of a fragrance that "captures the smell, the glow, of candlelight on skin."

### 3) AMBRE SULTAN

By Serge Lutens; recalls Stella McCartney Stella

**Key notes:** Oregano, bay leaf, coriander, myrtle, angelica root, sandalwood, patchouli

**Dubin:** "I feel exotic, anointed with precious golden oils."

### 4) NEW HAARLEM

By Bond No. 9; recalls Thierry Mugler Angel

**Key notes:** Coffee, patchouli, vanilla, cedar, lavender, bergamot

**Dubin:** "A true genderless fragrance" that is "comforting, with a dangerous, tangy bite."

### 5) POIVRE PIQUANT

By L'Artisan Parfumeur; recalls Bulgari Thé Blanc

**Key notes:** White pepper, honey, black licorice, milk

**Dubin:** "My all-purpose go-to scent when I am experiencing fragrance confusion."

### 6) AIMEZ-MOI

By Caron; recalls Lolita Lemnicka

**Key notes:** Anise, clove, violet leaf, tonka bean, heliotrope, musk, amber

**Dubin:** "I imagine myself in Venice, dancing at a masked ball with a handsome stranger."

## RELIGION

# The Evangelical Onion. Who says conservative Christians can't have their own deadpan, sharp-barbed send-up?

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA

BEFORE PEOPLE REALIZED that LarkNews.com was a parody site, it ran an item about the Christian publishing giant Zondervan, which has marketed the Bible to seemingly every niche group but one—a deficit Lark rectified by reporting that Zondervan had put out a new, lifestyle-friendly edition (the “GNI V”) for gays. Zondervan promptly called the story the work of a “disturbed individual.”

“I’m not sure that could happen anymore,” chuckles the individual, a churchgoing Evangelical named Joel Kilpatrick, 35. His five-year-old site, a kind of Christian version of the satirical newspaper the *Onion*, is now recognized as a healthy supplement in an irony-poor culture. Even Zondervan grudgingly admits that the Bible item was “in the spirit of legitimate satire.” Rick Warren (WARREN TO BUY SAINTS, BUILD PURPOSE-DRIVEN FIELD) e-mails Lark items to his flock and says, “If you can’t laugh at yourself, you have a pride problem. These guys are the best.”

Actually it’s mostly just

**Kilpatrick.** Letterman was an early role model, and now Lark’s creator is developing a TV comedy series, *The Ministry*, about a near-megachurch

Kilpatrick. The son of a Christian musician who played hundreds of churches, he developed a keen sense of the distinction between the Christian message (not inherently funny) and what he calls

its social, institutional and political “scaffolding” (a big target). He feels others share that view. “There’s a shift,” he remarks. “A new generation that without being less Christian is more culturally

agnostic” and distanced from the architecture of insularity. “There’s a deconstruction going on,” he says, “and satire is one of the ways of doing that.” Here are a couple of examples of how Kilpatrick is doing it:



## Christians Planning To Be Offended By Next Eminem Album

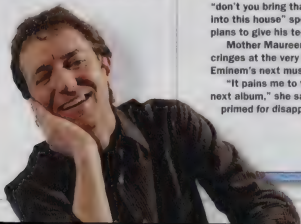
**DETROIT** — Rapper Eminem is taking a year off and has written no songs recently, but Christians are already preparing to be offended by his next album.

“I’m good and ready to be outraged,” says Earl Gillani, 46, who has been practicing his shocked expression and the “don’t you bring that garbage into this house” speech he plans to give his teenager.

Mother Maureen Dafney cringes at the very thought of Eminem’s next musical offering.

“It pains me to think of his next album,” she says. “I’m primed for disappointment.”

READ MORE >



## TECHNOLOGY

# Is Shrink-Wrapped Software Dead? If the current wave of free webware keeps swelling, you may never buy a computer program again

BY ANITA HAMILTON

THERE'S A FREE-FOR-ALL ON the Web right now, and you don't need a Ph.D. in computing to figure out how to tap into it. Simplified alternatives to many popular applications that you once had to buy are

freely available online, thanks to new ad-supported programs that run right on your browser.

So what's the catch? While many of the free word processors, photo-editing programs and games lack the rich features of their retail

counterparts—the word processor in Google Docs, for example, has just 11 fonts vs. the dozens in Microsoft Word—chances are you won't miss what's missing. After all, most people use only a small fraction of the features available. "Software went through a

period where it got way too complex. We have a concept that focuses on simplicity," says Dave Girouard, vice president and general manager of Google's free Web applications.

Below you'll find some of the best free Web apps compared with similar retail products. With new programs popping up every week—some of which are available only through social-networking sites like Facebook—it pays to check out the freebies before spending a dime. And you can keep the change. ■

## To Pay or Not to Pay. There are pros and cons for both kinds



### PAID SOFTWARE



Although it's packed with cool tools like the "spot healing brush" (for zapping wrinkles and blemishes on pictures), the \$100 **Adobe Photoshop Elements** lacks a clear, intuitive interface for novices.

Most of the 500 million people on earth who have the \$400 **Microsoft Office** suite of software use it for work. Because all files are stored on your own computer—often behind a corporate firewall—it's tough for hackers to gain access to your business secrets.



Which is easier to use?

Is it safe from hackers?

Which runs faster on your computer?



Researching your genealogy can be a lonely pursuit with the full-featured **FamilyTree Maker**, which costs \$30 and includes a one-month subscription to the amazingly vast historical databases on Ancestry.com.

Paid software is best for power users, those with special security concerns or those who are sure they will use the app enough to get their money's worth.



### FREE SOFTWARE

If simplicity is genius, then **Picnik.com** is the Einstein of photo-editing programs. Just upload a picture from your computer, then click to crop, rotate or add special effects. You don't even have to create an account to use this ad-supported site.

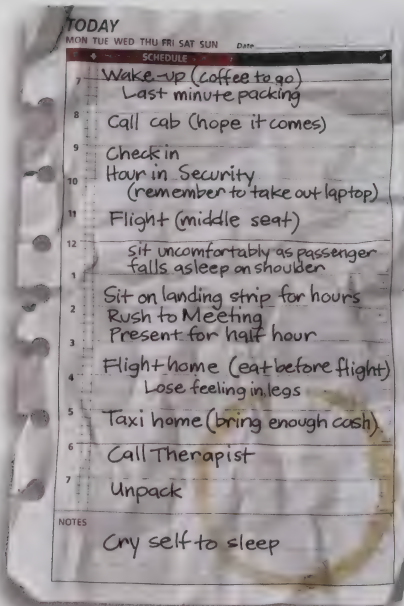
Google is aiming straight at the heart of Microsoft's business with its down-and-dirty office suite, **Google Docs** (available at docs.google.com to anyone with a Gmail account). Because the slick apps are secured only by your Gmail password—and password-stealing scams are rampant—it's best for personal or casual use only.

The simple graphics of **Scrabulous**, an online knockoff of the board game Scrabble, require no special hardware, and the game runs as fast as you place the tiles. It's available on Facebook, where 700,000 people use it.



**Geni** Learning about your heritage is fun for the whole family on **Geni.com**, which lets you invite relatives to help flesh out the family tree. Since all data are stored on Geni's central servers, anyone you've given access to can just add information directly.

Free software works well for most casual users and anyone needing quick access to the programs from any browser. Some offer paid upgrades that are ad-free.



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The artist who works  
with gunpowder  
Art, page 62

# Arts



MOVIES ART DOWNTIME

## Reel lessons

Recent and new  
issue films include  
In the Valley  
of Elah and  
Chicago 10



## MOVIES

**Can a Film Change  
The World?** Message  
movies are getting  
hotter. But are they  
making any difference?

**C**LARK GABLE'S NAKED PECS might have started it. In a racy scene with Claudette Colbert in *It Happened One Night*, Gable unbuttons his shirt to reveal—to the shock of 1934 audiences—a bare chest. No undershirt. Legend has it that undershirt sales dropped 75% that year. While never verified, the tale lives on because Hollywood loves it. If Gable's chest can have that kind of mass cultural impact, the thinking goes, then movies, far from being just passive entertainments, can influence audiences to change their behavior in more significant ways. If a movie can doom undershirts, can't it also end war, poverty, global warming, torture, obesity, junk mail?

More and more, Hollywood is betting on its powers of social engineering. Stars like Leonardo DiCaprio, Angelina Jolie, George Clooney and Charlize Theron have taken pay cuts and strolled red carpets for features that further humanitarian or political agendas. Big name directors have put their reputations on the line, and rich men have risked fortunes for passion projects. This spring there are at least eight projects with a strong social agenda hitting theaters from such noteworthy filmmakers as Errol Morris and Morgan Spurlock as well as from message-movie newcomers like Ben Stein.

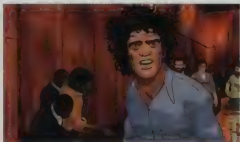
"In college I was really cynical about the idea that film can make a difference," says Brett Morgen, 39, who directs activist cinema's latest entry: *Chicago 10*, the animated political history of the Chicago Seven. "To me, that all changed with *An Inconvenient Truth*. It became an inspiration for all of us." Former AOL executive Ted Leonsis coined the term *filmanthropy* to describe his four-year-old production company, Agape (Greek for unselfish love). "It's difficult to rationalize independent movies as a business," says Leonsis, who financed *Nanking*, a 2007 documentary about the "rape of Nanking," and *Kicking It*, a film about the Homeless World Cup,

which premiered this year at the Sundance Film Festival. "Filmanthropy changes the metrics of measurement from box office and revenues to number of volunteers and amount of money raised." As August a body as the United Nations is getting in on the act, announcing in January a \$700 million U.N. film fund aimed at combating stereotypes—in other words, undoing the work of almost all the other media we see.

But even using Leonsis' metrics, how can you measure a film's success? *Chicago 10* was financed by Participant Productions, founded in 2004 on a "double bottom line" premise. "We want to make a social return and a commercial return on our investment," says Participant president Ricky Strauss. The production company has backed 39 other movies, both documentaries and features, including *Syriana* and *The Kite Runner*, and has more than 20 films in development. All its movies have social-action campaigns: Participant encourages audiences to visit its website ([takepart.com](http://takepart.com)) and register to vote, contact Congress or urge divestment from Sudan. About 2.7 million people have gone to the activism section of the site, 400,000 of them to calculate their carbon emissions. After the 2005 release of *Syriana*, Clooney's movie on the oil industry, the audience sent 8,000 e-mails to Congress.

But Participant also financed *North Country*, a feature based on a historic sexual-harassment case, which left no real mark. People weren't interested in the issue, and Theron, even in coveralls, couldn't get them to be. DiCaprio has also mapped the limits of his drawing power. His African thriller *Blood Diamond* showed the connection between some diamonds and war. It did a not-too-shabby \$57 million at the box office, but activists say there are still conflict diamonds in the mix, and diamond sellers have not reported a surge of young engaged couples asking for a diamond's certificate of origin. Meanwhile, DiCaprio's greenie documentary *The 11th Hour* made just \$700,000. "There's a 99% chance your

## Convincing Soon. New films with social aims



**Chicago 10** Out now  
Nick Nolte and Hank Azaria did voices for this animated tale of the Chicago conspiracy trial



**Expelled: No Intelligence Allowed** April  
Ben Stein takes on Big Science for persecuting believers in intelligent design

film won't have an impact," says writer-director Paul Haggis, whose movies have tackled racism (*Crash*), euthanasia (*Million Dollar Baby*) and the mental health of Iraq war veterans (*In the Valley of Elah*). "It would be hubris to think otherwise."

Not everyone agrees. "Does a movie change policy? Change behavior? Do movies have an influence on people? Of course they do! Who would argue otherwise?" says Morris, whose documentary *Standard Operating Procedure*, an examination of the Abu Ghraib prison photographs, comes out April 25. Morris has reason to believe in the persuasive power of cinema: his 1988 film about the murder of a police officer, *The Thin Blue Line*, got a man out of prison.

**Popcorn Policy.**  
It's hard to quantify the real impact of a film. But here are small changes wrought by five recent movies



**Super Size Me** 2004  
Morgan Spurlock eats only McDonald's for 30 days, gets tummy ache, earns \$11.5 mil

**OUTCOME:** McDonald's changes menu, adding salads and ending supersizing, but says that was planned before the film premiered



**Blood Diamond** 2006  
Leonardo DiCaprio, Djimon Hounsou and a diamonds-and-war story make \$57 mil

**OUTCOME:** The diamond industry launches a p.r. blitz to educate consumers about conflict-free diamonds; stone sales are unaffected



#### Where in the World Is Osama bin Laden? April

While hunting Public Enemy No. 1, *Super Size Me's* Morgan Spurlock finds unlikely heroes—and a new worldview—in the Middle East

Most movies' legacies are trickier to measure, however. In a *TIME* poll of 1,002 registered voters, about 30% of respondents said a movie had changed their mind about an issue. Fewer than 20% said a movie had persuaded them to donate money to a charity or inspired them to volunteer for a cause. And only 10% said a movie had caused them to vote differently.

And then there's *An Inconvenient Truth*. Al Gore's 2006 slide-show passion project made \$24 million at the U.S. box office—no threat to *Harry Potter* but a blockbuster for a documentary. Covered in newspaper style pages and on entertainment shows, it received more than four times as much media attention as the 2001 Intergov-

ernmental Panel on Climate Change report, which, shockingly, was overlooked by E! More than 1,000 people in the U.S. were trained to give Gore's presentation, 110,000 teachers downloaded a curriculum, and the movie became part of the syllabus in some schools in Britain. Three months after the film's U.S. release, California passed sweeping legislation to curb greenhouse gases. In the days leading up to the legislature's vote, one of the bill's co-authors hosted free screenings of the film. "For policymakers, the release of a movie becomes a focusing event, like a natural disaster," says Matthew Nisbet, professor of communications at American University.

But it has to be noted that the people

who saw *Truth* already cared enough to spend leisure time watching a lecture about melting polar ice caps. It's not clear minds were changed. The converted saw the film and worried more; the rest went to *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest*.

Similarly, *Sicko*, Michael Moore's doc about the American health-care system, had a deep rather than broad impact. The film, which made slightly more money than *Truth*, "has done more for public awareness [of universal health care] than any other single event in the movement," says Joel Segal, a staffer assisting Congressman John Conyers on a universal-health-care bill. "I don't think it's a coincidence that all the Democratic candidates—presidential and congressional—are pushing universal health care as a front-burner issue." A Kaiser Family Foundation poll found that as a result of *Sicko*, 43% of people were more likely to report that they think health-care reform is needed. However, the effect was not universal—43% of liberals had a positive view of the film, compared with just 9% of conservatives.

Some issue movies have become for liberals, who are more than twice as likely as conservatives to say they prefer documentaries, what talk radio is for conservatives: a way of rallying the base. Many follow the pattern of the \$370 million-grossing 2004 juggernaut *The Passion of the Christ*. Fewer than 0.1% of those who saw the film said they became Christians as a result, according to a Barna Group poll, but 18% of the audience said some aspect of their religious behavior changed—mostly praying and attending church more.

Do movies make a difference? They can but often not in the way filmmakers hope. They're not for nonbelievers. They don't make bigots tolerant, Hummer drivers conservationist or burger eaters vegan. Movies make advocates out of supporters. They change the world not in wide swaths of multiplexes but one popcorn bucket at a time. —WITH REPORTING BY LINA LOFARO AND AMY LENNARD GOEHNER ■



#### An Inconvenient Truth 2006

Al Gore's global-warming slide show hits theaters, snags \$24 mil, Nobel and Oscar

**OUTCOME:** Schools show the film, emissions rules tighten in California, but the U.S. remains a Kyoto treaty holdout



#### Sicko 2007

Michael Moore's exposé on the U.S. health-care crisis makes \$24.5 mil

**OUTCOME:** An HMO changes its hospital-discharge rules, and universal health care is a key issue in the Democratic primaries



#### The Kite Runner 2007

The story of childhood friends in Kabul tries to put human face on Afghanistan; earns \$15 mil

**OUTCOME:** Not seen by many, but 70 rural libraries are built and 500 laptops distributed with money raised from audiences

## ART

## The Big Bang.

Gunpowder drawings, car-bomb art—Cai Guo-Qiang's career is booming

BY RICHARD LACAYO

IN 1984, WHEN HE WAS STILL LIVING IN China, the artist Cai Guo-Qiang began experimenting with a very Chinese medium. And a very tricky one: gunpowder. He would sprinkle it on fibrous paper, then light it to create a "drawing" of burned residues. He moved on to produce outdoor "explosion events," using fireworks to create spectacles on the ground and in the sky that he related to Taoist ideas about destruction and transformation. By now, Cai (pronounced Sigh) is an old master of blast art. Which is funny, because at 50, he's a soft-spoken man with a modest manner. It's his art that makes noise.

There's certainly a feeling of midcareer big bang in "Cai Guo-Qiang: I Want to Believe," the clamorous retrospective that opened recently at the Guggenheim Museum in New York City. In the 13 years since he relocated to New York, Cai has moved on to many other kinds of art, including dreamlike sculptures and big theatrical installations like *Head On*—dozens of papier-mâché wolves galloping headlong into a glass wall. In the same period, he's also become a star on the global-exhibition circuit, a position the Guggenheim show certifies.

The show also draws out the apocalyptic mood in a piece like *Head On*. It's not only gunpowder that gets burned in Cai's work. It's his whole social orders being blown away.

Born in Mao's China, Cai knows all about societies in transformation. He revisits Beijing often these days to help design the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics. But an ambivalence about his burgeoning homeland courses through his art. On the one hand, there's his 1998 piece *Borrowing Your Enemy's Arrows*—a wooden boat flying a Chinese flag and pierced by hundreds of arrows. It has its sources in the story of a 3rd century Chinese general who had to gather arrows before a battle and did it by surprising the enemy with a predawn flotilla manned by straw sailors. The enemy responded with a hail of



Car bombast *Inopportune: Stage One*, 2004, tumbles down the Guggenheim's giant rotunda

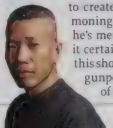
arrows that lodged harmlessly in the straw, to be retrieved by the wily general. To Cai, there's a metaphor in there about China's drawing strength from the opposition of other nations. "Even as it looks like it's being wounded," he says, speaking through an interpreter, "it's being rejuvenated."

On the other hand, there's *Rent Collection Courtyard*. It's a replica of more than 100 life-size clay statues that were originally crafted in Shanghai in 1965 as pure Maoist agitprop, a tableau of peasants being abused by a greedy landlord and his thugs. In 1999 Cai had a team of artisans reproduce the ensemble for the Venice Biennale. Set in a new context, as they are again at the Guggenheim, the figures took on a new meaning. They became artifacts of a bygone communist order and

the lost power of its coercive spectacles.

Let the record show that contemporary art has coercive spectacles of its own. One of them is Cai's *Inopportune: Stage One*—a car bombing presented as a Chinese scroll sequence of tumbling white automobiles, blinking light rods bursting from them like fireworks—suspended down the length of the Guggenheim's vast rotunda. Cai sees it as a "contradictory presentation—very strong physical violence presented in terms of physical beauty." And there's no denying that the piece brings its share of wow factor to the rotunda. But it's also an instance of an artist playing air guitar with history—making a strenuous gesture to create the impression that he's summoning a powerful reality, when in fact he's merely toyed with it. All the same, it certainly fits the apocalyptic tenor of this show. When the smoke from all that gunpowder clears, there's still a whiff of brimstone in the air.

Master blaster Cai works with explosives—and a world in flux



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[www.lookingaround.com/](http://www.lookingaround.com/)



## Downtime



### 5 Things You Should Know About. Families lose one another (three different ways), while Van finds his old form



#### MOVIE

**Snow Angels** Written and directed by David Gordon Green; rated R; out now  
Two marriages are falling apart, and the muted sounds of desperation reverberate through a small town. In this adaptation of Stewart O'Nan's novel, director Green (George Washington) hits all the grace notes with perfect skill, and a strong cast (Kate Beckinsale, Sam Rockwell) brings dignity to the chilly landscape of failed lives. **B+**



#### MUSIC

**Van Morrison** *Keep It Simple*; available April 1  
The voice is still there, but whereas previous albums obscured it behind indecipherable themes and hyperactive arrangements, this time Van is true to his title. Light instrumentation, blues and Celtic influences—nothing radical, just enough for him to brood over soulfully (*Lover Come Back*) and grumpily (*Don't Go to Nightclubs Anymore*). **B+**



#### DVDS

**Hitman** Directed by Xavier Gens; written by Skip Woods; unrated; available March 11  
Bred to be the ultimate assassin, Agent 47 (Timothy Olyphant) flees for his life when a kill goes wrong. This action film has the usual chases and shoot-outs, executed with unusual flair. But like many movies based on violent video games, it offers an oddly passive pleasure. Just watching *Hitman* isn't enough; what's missing is a joystick. **B**

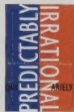


**August Rush** Directed by Kirsten Sheridan; rated PG; available March 11  
"I believe in music the way some people believe in fairy tales," says a creepy Robin Williams to the homeless child he discovers, a musical prodigy he names August Rush (Freddie Highmore). Adults who can stomach fantastical levels of improbability and kids who can stomach adults behaving icily might be moved. The rest of us: puh-leeze. **C**



#### TELEVISION

**Canterbury's Law** Fox, Mondays, 8 p.m. ET.  
The season of the Flawed Woman (*Damages*, *Rescue Me*) continues with Julianna Margulies as an adulterous, ethically challenged defense attorney—and mother of a missing son. Margulies vanquishes her *ER* heroine image, but bad dialogue ("When she crosses a line, she does it for her clients") and dull legal stories undermine her case. **C**



#### 60-SECOND SYNOPSIS

### Our Foolish Decisions

ASK PEOPLE IF THEY'D like a 15¢ Lindt truffle or a 1¢ Hershey's Kiss, and 73% buy the truffle. Drop a penny off the price of each—a 14¢ truffle or a free Hershey's Kiss—and only 31% choose the Lindt. Is eating the chocolate you don't really want worth saving a penny? Probably not. But in the economics of life, we often show bad judgment, like allotting too much value to things that are free.

In **PREDICTABLY IRRATIONAL** (HarperCollins; 280 pages), behavioral economist Dan Ariely goes for a fascinating romp through the science of decision-making that unmasks the ways that emotions, social norms, expectations and context lead us astray. Mixing anecdote and social-science experiment, he illustrates common problems, like the tendency to keep our options open, even when one is demonstrably better. Consider the MIT student who has a horrible time committing to one of her two suitors—despite her clear preference for one of them. And relativity gets us time and again: coffee in a nice setting tastes better; a person looks more attractive once a similar but less good-looking person enters the room. Understanding these irrationalities, Ariely writes, is the first step in overcoming them.

—BY BARBARA KIVIAT



Michael

# Kinsley

## An Old Story. Two more memoirs are exposed as fakes. Why do writers do it? For the same reason you do

**A** tearful Alan Greenspan confessed yesterday that he never was Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, as he alleged in his best-selling autobiography, *Irrational Exuberance*, published last fall. The book's melodramatic descriptions of gray-haired men sitting around large conference tables talking about things like "libor" and "basis points" were "complete fiction," Greenspan now admits. He said he would return the \$8.5 million advance he received from his publisher "just as soon as I can get back to the Fed and print it. Oh, wait. I made that up. I've never been inside the Fed in my life. I guess they're out of luck."

IT'S GETTING TO BE AN OLD STORY. IN RECENT DAYS, TWO celebrated autobiographies have been exposed as fakes. The New York Times reported that *Love and Consequences*, a book about growing up half-Native American in the gangland of South Central Los Angeles, was actually written by a white woman who grew up in the suburban San Fernando Valley. The author, Margaret Seltzer, was rattled out by her sister, who had seen her picture and story featured, with total credulity, in the Times's own House & Home section the previous week.

The other autophoniography exposed last week was by a woman now living in Dudley, Mass., named Misha Defonseca. In *Misha: A Memoir of the Holocaust*, not yet published in the U.S. but already celebrated in Europe, she claims that she was adopted by a pack of wolves who protected her from the Nazis. The French have even made a movie about this episode, called *Surviving with Wolves*.

Why do they do it? For the same reason you do it. Oh, yes, you do. The temptation to embroider an anecdote is nearly universal. Did Uncle Charlie really parade around the house stark naked when he got drunk that time, or did he just strip to his underwear? Did it really snow 3 ft. in half an hour during that storm last winter? It's a long way from this to imagining that you were adopted by wolves during the Holocaust, but you can sort of get what Defonseca is driving at when she says in her defense that the yarn "is not actually reality, but my reality."

Then, too, there is the amazing fact that book publishers—unlike newspaper and magazine

publishers—do virtually nothing to check or warrant the accuracy of what they print. They won't knowingly publish a fraud, but they won't take the first step to expose one. In fact, they don't even seem to turn on their baloney detectors when they sit down to read a manuscript. One phone call could have exposed Seltzer's tale. And as for Defonseca, certainly there are many true stories of surviving the Holocaust that strain credulity. But adopted by wolves? Please.

Why this different standard for books? In part, I think, it's because books have no Letters to the Editor and no other easy way for readers to dissent or call bluffs. Every book has small mistakes that go uncorrected, and these encourage bigger mistakes and outright fabrications. I was sure when the Internet came along that a site would

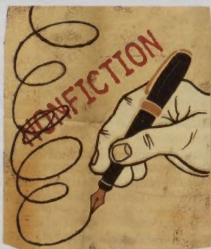
arise and be acknowledged as the semiofficial Letters to the Editor column for books. But so far, it hasn't happened.

It is time for a prestigious commission to re-examine all autobiographies, including classics like Rousseau's *Confessions* and *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. That business about walking through Philadelphia carrying bread rolls under his arms has a suspiciously raconteurial told-once-too-often feel about it, don't you think? And anything involving wolves requires special scrutiny. It's only a matter of time until Little Red Riding Hood admits that her story was "exaggerated" to protect her grandma, who at

the time was "still in the closet." (The Big Bad Wolf, in his version of the story, will promise to "deal with the cross-dressing issue" and declare, "Red is green with envy. All she can say is, 'What a big advance you got.'")

Barack Obama's third book arrived in bookstores this week. Called *Hussein Is My Middle Name*, it describes his devotion to Islam, his terrorist training at a madrasah in Indonesia and his commitment to wasteful government spending and tax increases. The book also details the romantic story of how he fell in love with his wife Michelle when he heard her declare how much she hates America.

Obama concedes that none of this is true. "These are all rumors that I am hoping to discredit," he said, "and I know of no better way to do that than by putting them in a book." ■

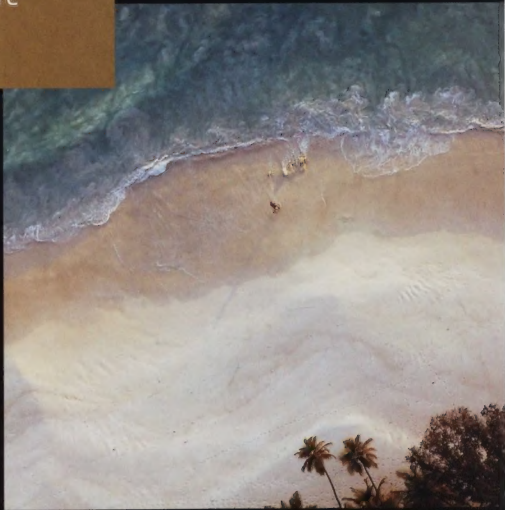


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